DECLASSIFIED

I had a letter from Frank the other day. He is making progress, but will have to continue his rest for a long period. It is [redacted] sad.

We had the usual meetings over Berlin questions, especially those involving air access considerations.

Kit Steel came to the house this evening for a private talk. He referred to General Spaatz's suggestion for the removal of UN headquarters to Berlin. He thinks, and I am rather inclined to agree, that at some point after the Russians are thoroughly convinced of our determination to safeguard the liberties of the Berlin people, we will have to make some imaginative proposal, even though unacceptable to the Soviets, for a possible solution of the whole affair. What such a proposal might be is not clear. Some of us have toyed with various schemes involving the UN, but there are many objections to such a course.

Toni and Ed Hughes came to dinner with us tonight, andwe had a wonderful evening with these intelligent and attractive people. She lived for a long time on her family's citrus fruit farm in Jamaica. The house was named "Trout Hall" because of a trout stream traversing the property. I was astonished to hear this.

Ed thinks, of all the countries he has visited, Southern Rhodesia is the most pleasant place for retirement if one had no strong ties elsewhere.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
REVIEWED BY H. Freyer DATE 4/2/82
RDS☐or XDS☐EXT. DATE
TS AUTH. REASON(S)
ENDORSE EXISTING MARKINGS ☐
DECLASSIFIED/RELEASABLE ☑
RELEASE DENIED ☐
PA or FOI EXEMPTIONS

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

I sent off a telegram to the Department (See pages 4 and 5 following.).

I read a [redacted]-long despatch prepared by Messrs. Allen and Appling, entitled "Basic Attitudes of German Political Leaders to the German Question; and the Present and Potential Reactions of these Leaders to the Soviet Threat to Berlin". This was Despatch No. 971 from Bonn, dated December 22, 1958. Although I disagree with some of the analyses contained in this paper, it is an excellent example of the kind of work highly intelligent and well-trained Foreign Service officers can do. I would doubt if a study of similar excellence could be made in the German Foreign Office, since almost inevitably there would be a coloration of a less impartial nature than when done by foreigners.

E and I left tonight by train for a vacation in Paris.

DECLASSIFIED

Form AE/GER-32 THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT ☐

IR14 2 JAN 59

CHARGE TO
35 EEP

AMB
DCM
POL
ECON
USIS
CA
CINCEUR
POUCH:
CA FKFT2
CA MUN 2

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

27
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

6 PM
2 January 1959
DATE

SENT TO:	SecState WASHINGTON	PRIORITY	1392
RPT INFO:	US Mission BERLIN	PRIORITY	419
	USAREUR Heidelberg	PRIORITY	356
	USAFE WIESBADEN	PRIORITY	280
	AmEmbassy LONDON	ROUTINE	307
	AmEmbassy PARIS	ROUTINE	431
	AMEmbassy MOSCOW	ROUTINE	169

UPI story by Darrell Garwood datelined Washington January 2 quotes "US Air Force sources" saying "US intelligence agents Berlin have found network Soviet radar and radio jamming equipment surrounding that city" which "might be wreak havoc" with any Allied airlift. Same story cites JCS spokesman as indicating US favors "armed ground convoys" to "penetrate blockade" but since any action taken must be in agreement with UK, France and probably West Germany, "sole reliance" on airlift might be necessary in event blockade.

This is type of comment which not only can cause trouble with our Allies but also contributes to weakening Berlin morale and gives rise to unfortunate speculation. It seems almost incredible that any official "spokesman" would be permitted to express such views. Regardless of

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

27 CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(JUL 57)

INFORMATION COPY
Corrections made on this original MUST be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Copy AE/GER-12

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT

CHARGE TO

-5-

-2-

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

27
CONTIO NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

whether or not an airlift is militarily feasible, I would hope we would not, especially at the present time, suggest our inability or refusal to resort to it.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

COORD:POL- William R. Tyler

DISTRIBUTION

27

AMB/DBruce/mkr
POL/RWellington/mkr 3111

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections made on this original must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

Sunday, January 4, 1959

We reached the Crillon Hotel about 8 o'clock and left a couple of hours later for Versailles where we were anxious to see the new Consulate and First Empire rooms, dating from 1796 to 1804. They were closed, but luckily we were recognized by a guardian and visited them in the best possible way, viz alone. They were [redacted] interesting, and especially to me, the paintings of the Egyptian campaign, which for years had been stashed away somewhere in the recesses of the palace. Louis Philippe committed a good deal of vandalism during his forays to Versailles, but at least the restorations of the physical structure, in spite of much tasteless alteration, enabled it to survive until John D. Rockefeller, Jr. shored it up again. It was a lovely, sunny day.

We lunched deliciously at our old haunt in the town, the Ile de France. Back in Paris, we went to a popular movie, "Les Amants", restricted to adults. No wonder it is forbidden to the young, though I suspect they would become bored with all the fumbling and tumbling about in boats and beds. Louise de Vilmorin had done the dialogue, and this was the only lively feature of an otherwise dull play.

Monday, January 5, 1959

Warm - about 45° - and raining this morning. I am so glad we

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

decided to take a week's holiday here instead of chasing sunshine in Sicily or elsewhere. I feel entirely carefree.

We shopped, and bought a Cantonese porcelain cat. Lunched Chez Pauline, on Rue Villedo, recommended by Bill Tyler. Admirable bistro. Visited bookshops, where E added to her collection of Directoire and Consular items. I kept meeting old acquaintances on the street. Called on Monsieur Danflu, dealer in wines and spirits, a great friend of Royall and Bill Tyler. He holds forth in the Rue Monthabor, near the Meurice, in two rooms, crammed with drawings and old glass. [redacted] Attractive man. We sniffed various white alcohols, and drank some of his blanc de blanc champagne. I wheedled from him a few of his inherited bottles of authentic 1865 Cognac and fifty-year old Armagnac; and left in a glow. He told me he had been devoted to Raoul Boyer, who [redacted] once worked for his family in Bordeaux.

Tonight, we went to the Bouffles Parisiennes to see Marcel Achard's latest play, "La Bagatelle". Typical Marcel, witty, frothy, amusing. The leading lady, Danielle Delorme, was perfection in her part, [redacted] the whole cast more than competent.

Tuesday, January 6, 1959

Left at 9:15 for Malmaison, where the Director, Monsieur Schommer, generously took us on a guided tour, the house being

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

closed to the public on Tuesdays. It was fascinating. He was once deputy to Georges Saales for all the museums of France, and when the latter retired selected this position as Conservator of Malmaison to gratify a life-long love. He says Napoleonic furniture and objets d'art have never been exported in great quantity, as compared with earlier productions, and many of the former contents of the Chateau are still held privately in France. He hopes from time to time to recuperate them. With Madame Schommer, we went to the rooms where Josephine kept her countless gowns, shoes and gewgaws. She must have been [redacted] sympathetic, indolent, charming, and wildly extravagant.

We lunched at the Bistro Chez Raffatin et Honorine, 16 Boulevard Saint Germain, with Paul Henri Spaak, as guests of André de Staercke. I don't think I've ever so enjoyed a meal. The food was tantalizing in its variety, superbly presented, perfectly cooked. André, now Dean of the NATO Diplomatic Corps, is unique in his profession; Spaak perhaps the most agreeable of active statesmen - his spirits are as unflagging as his energy, and equalled by his imagination. A little Mexican boy came to stare at him. Spaak said: "Je dois le soigner; peut être il sera un futur client." We dallied until three. André and Spaak think de Gaulle is the only Frenchman who might find an Algerian solution, but regard his idea

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

of a triumvirate as completely unacceptable and unrealistic. We talked much of Berlin, and were all without information on the Dulles-Mikoyan talks of yesterday.

I bought a pair of small Louis XV candlesticks from Pernet, and took a long walk, before stopping by the Embassy to read telegrams.

Wednesday, January 7, 1959

Spent an hour at the Embassy with Glenn Wolfe and, later, a half hour with Amory Houghton. Marie Louise Bousquet lunched with us. We strolled around on the left bank, and tonight dined with Janet Flanner at the Au Roy Gourmet in Place des Victoires. E's French friends keep telephoning to congratulate her on being recently named again in a list of the world's best dressed women. Since she has lately bought clothes in Berlin, German reporters here have tried to reach me through the Embassy press office for color photographs and stories, which we have refused. Bought some gay fish engravings this afternoon.

Before dinner we had drinks with Janet in the huge bar of the Continentale. She has lived in the hotel almost ten years. Famous as the stopping place of the Empress Eugénie, its salons are classified, and it is a wonderful, if fearsome, example of the taste of the latter half of the Nineteenth Century.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Monsieur Daniel, proprietor of Au Roy Gourmet, is an old friend of the Bill Tylers, and offers [redacted] good cheer. What a triumph it would be if the Place des Victoires could be restored to its pristine state. Except for Place de la Concorde, Place Vendome and Place des Vosges, it is, to my eye, the loveliest square in Paris.

Thursday, January 8, 1959

I went this morning to SHAPE to see Cort Schuyler and Laurie Norstad. The latter has some interesting ideas about disengagement coupled with inspection, control and guarantees. He is [redacted] firm on Berlin, but thinks we must use more imagination about the future of Germany. I agree. We settled on how I should present our top secret proposal to the Chancellor.

Today, de Gaulle was invested as President. Coty, in a graceful speech, referred to him as "Le Premier des Francais; désormais Le Premier en France." The auguries were good, the sun bright, the air mellow.

On my way in from Rocquencourt, I stopped for lunch at the Windsors' in their treasure-laden house in the Bois. E, Joe Bryan, Lulu and Geoffrey de Waldner were there. The Windsors are the most solicitous of hosts, and the marvelous food was what our former chef Lucien thought E and I would appreciate. He was right - we commenced with a sensational crab dish, and when we left it was almost

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

four o'clock.

In the late evening we called on Odile and Antoine de Guiche, in their charming little house, Avenue Victor Hugo. They have lately installed some of the furniture left them by his Grandmother Greffule, which was in her amazing retreat on the Rue d'Astorg.

Rich and poor are uncertain over the effects of tax and fiscal measures just promulgated by de Gaulle, but all agree it was a courageous act politically.

Friday, January 9, 1959

Went to the Embassy and talked to Cecil Lyon about the report on the Dulles-Mikoyan conversations. Evidently, the Soviets are desirous of having a conference. I met Frank Canfield at The Travellers. He is running Standard Oil of New Jersey's interests here, and they could not have a better man. Saw Bunny Carter, Bill Cousins, Jacques de la Béraudière and others. Thence to lunch with Jean Monnet. He favors a series of talks with the Soviets, on the assumption of an approximate equality of military power between the US and USSR, necessitating some agreement on tolerable co-existence. He does not think a Danzig solution for Berlin workable, but believes a variant, including UN participation, should be explored. Ate an excellent trout, drank a good Macon. Jean's power of analysis is magnificent.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Foster has been slightly ill again, this time with a virus infection. As Scotty Reston has pointed out, he works eighteen hours a day, is a Foreign Office in himself, yet expects never to be sick. He plans to go to Baghdad later this month for a Baghdad Pact meeting. I wish he would stop being such an ambulatory diplomat.

Madeleine and Daniele Porthault came to tea with us. Tonight we went to the theatre, to see the popular piece, "La Bonne Soupe". Well cast play.

It looks as if a conference over German problems, European security and other matters will take place in the next few months. Even those who back a general war to prevent the freedom of Berlin being impaired wish at least to discuss possible alterations in its status. Janet Flanner says Berlin is like the navel in the human body, cut off from contact with the mother, ugly in itself, but without it one would lose face.

Saturday, January 10, 1959

The last day of a heavenly stay in Paris. Weather crisp, clear sunlight, blue sky, temperature about 35° Fahrenheit. We lunched Chez Pauline, went to look at what remains (practically nothing) of the famous house and garden of Josephine on Rue Chantereine. It was here that La Brumaire was launched.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

We took in a sensational movie, "Les Tricheurs". Depressing, if true, that the young students live as they do, with such an avant garde philosophy. People of between 30 and 40 are referred to as "the half dead". It is a gripping performance, with wonderful acting, the leading man, Charrier, [redacted] attractive.

Left tonight by train for Bonn.

Sunday, January 11, 1959

Ground covered with snow. Went to office morning and afternoon. Large accumulation of telegrams and mail.

Monday, January 12, 1959

To Heidelberg this morning with Roy Lassetter and Al Wells. Dispatched a lot of business with General Hodes, then had lunch, and afterwards I talked to the officers about the Berlin affair.

Snowed most of the day. Arrived at Mehlem in time for dinner.

Kit Steel came to see me this evening and we sat up until almost midnight. He is rather angry over being [redacted] mentioned in a recent article in Joe Alsop's Washington column as having expressed an opinion derogatory of the German Government. This is not only embarrassing for Steel, but [redacted] naughty and unnecessary on Joe's part. In spite of dozens of remonstrances, he has always persisted, so unlike Walter Lippmann, in identifying

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

has been dealt with through Top Secret telegrams, and I have refrained from documenting it in my diary.

Afterwards, I had a rather rambling conversation with the three officials, reported to the Department in the following telegram (see pages 16-19).

Mrs. Tatiana Schaufuss, head of the Tolstoy Foundation in Europe, with offices in Munich, came to see me this afternoon with a letter from Ilia Tolstoy. Vadim Makaroff had also warmly recommended her to me. She is a [redacted] remarkable woman. She is now in process of setting up a home in Berlin for about 950 White Russian refugees, half of whom are over 65 years of age. She told me some 9000 White Russians are still in Communist China, living in appallingly difficult circumstances, and another 7000 have found refuge in Hong Kong where they are supported by charity.

DECLASSIFIED

Form AE/GER-12 (AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

13 JAN 59

CHARGE TO

11 VVD/VVD

AMB
DCM
POL
ECON

16

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

289
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

13 January 1959 6PM
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 1467

RPT INFO: AmEmbassy PARIS PRIORITY 458

AmEmbassy LONDON PRIORITY 323

AMEmbassy MOSCOW PRIORITY 175

After conversation this morning (Embtel 1464) on military subjects, Chancellor said he wanted talk Brentano, Strauss, myself about political matters.

1. He believes three occupying powers Berlin must use force if necessary including against GDR police to maintain position Berlin. If this not done U. S. will have lost game. Highly unlikely Soviets would risk hot war, but if European faith in U. S. pledges and determination were shaken it would be fatal blow to Europe and NATO.

2. In recent talk with Hallstein, latter informed Chancellor economic potential six nation community is as 17 to US 20. If Soviets through cold war acquire this 17 they would have vast superiority over US and dislocate US economy which would result in [redacted] political catastrophe. It is equally in European and US interest to have faith in US remain intact.

3. Above reflections prompted by his reading recent Grewe-Murphy and Grewe-Hillenbrand exchanges. Asked Brentano and Strauss for comments.

4. Brentano emphasized necessity not weakening on Dec. 14 and Dec. 16 Paris communiques. Thinks risk of general war reduced by

DISTRIBUTION

289

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

Corrections made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-681 (JUL 57)

maintaining firm stand agreed Paris.

5. Strauss expressed opinion Soviets will not start hot war, but will adopt series slow strangulation measures regard Berlin. If Western powers firm Soviets will not allow interference access immediately. Addressing himself to me, he asked I convey his request that when military plans re Berlin are discussed, FedRep be permitted share in deliberations, or, failing that, be informed of substance Allied intentions.

6. Chancellor resumed commentary. Thinks Soviet objective not to destroy world but to rule it. Soviets have missionary fervor. US only obstacle to realization world domination. Believes damage to US economy their chief present tactic. However, their representations concerning their production achievements are a "swindle".

7. Adenauer said he had not informed me yesterday, since I was in Heidelberg, of his action in sending Dittman to Washington and letter to Secretary to explain misgivings over appointment granted Mikoyan to see President Eisenhower. We would be foolish to indulge in any optimism over Mikoyan visit; aide-memoire on Berlin was as rough and tough as ever; and the proposed Peace Treaty draft was outrageous. President should not receive Mikoyan, who would play up meeting at forthcoming Party Congress as having been successful and preliminary to Summit Conference.

Form AE/GER-12 (AUG 57) THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

18

CHARGE TO

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

289
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

8. Next he talked, rather foolishly I thought, about Khrushchev's position being imperilled by the restoration of Molotov and Bulganin to favor and likelihood Khrushchev losing office. Brentano and Strauss looked bewildered.

9. I told Chancellor I totally disbelieved there had been any weakening or would be of US determination on Berlin or other German problems. I had not seen report of Grewe-Hillenbrand interview, but was familiar with content Grewe-Murphy conversation. Seemed to me request by us for FedRep views in connection possible negotiations with Soviets was utterly reasonable and necessary, and there could be no harm or evidence of weakening on Berlin if our two Governments were to discuss in mutual confidence various tactics and matters of substance that were certain to come up. I was sure he was entirely mistaken in displaying doubts in this regard.

10. Adenauer replied that he had not intended to question the propriety of the talks between his Ambassador and Department officials, but that US must not succumb to Soviet blandishments. I assured him that such an error was not in question.

11. Chancellor looked tired. He has had slight bronchial trouble for weeks. He talked further and at great length about Mikoyan's unreliability, and how mistaken it was for the American public to have

DISTRIBUTION

289

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.:

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

Form AE/GER-681 (Jul 57)

Correct INFORMATION COPY to be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

19

- 4 -

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

289
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

received him so enthusiastically, etc. I told him not to worry over this. Mikoyan was a visiting curiosity.

12. Suggest after meeting with Mikoyan, Adenauer be informed soonest possible what transpired.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

DISTRIBUTION	
AMB	3
DCM	1
POL	1
ECON	1
No others	

Form AE7GER-581
(Jul-57)

289

AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111

Name of originating Office, Person Name, and Telephone No.

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

Correct INFORMATION COPY may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

Wednesday, January 14, 1959

In talking about Bavarians with Kit Steel Monday night, he asked whether I had ever heard Bismarck's bitter comment that a Bavarian was half Austrian and half man!

Last night I drafted a telegram of thoughts on German problems. Today we reviewed it, together with suggestions from the Political Section, and sent it off to the Department (pages 21-27).

John Bross came up from Frankfurt with some of his people, and we had a talk about missiles and new scientific developments in the Soviet Union.

I was hurriedly summoned by the Chancellor this morning and met him and von Brentano at noon. He was distrubed to an uncommon degree by the report of the Secretary's press conference yesterday in Washington, as regards a portion of it in which Dulles said there were ways of considering reunification other than by free elections. I sent the Secretary a telegram on the subject (pages 28-30).

The newspapermen are in a dither over this report. Adenauer's opposition has been heartened by it, and they are reading all sorts of implications into what we have been assured by Washington was a casual utterance. Personally, I wish Foster would stop dropping tinder into powder kegs by being over-frank in press conferences.

DECLASSIFIED

Form AE/GSR-12 (AUG 57) THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO
7 ED-ED
AMB
DCM
POL
ECON
CA

21

SECRET — CLASSIFICATION

323 — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

14 January 1959-6 PM — DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON — NIACT 1486

RPT TO: AmEmbassy LONDON — PRIORITY 328

AmEmbassy PARIS — PRIORITY 465

AmEmbassy MOSCOW — PRIORITY 179

USMission BERLIN — PRIORITY 459

USAREUR HEIDELBERG — PRIORITY 381

PARIS PASS USCINCEUR

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION - NOFORN

Uncertain, confused, divided, West German political leaders will not, in my opinion, presently contribute as they should constructive ideas to any re-examination of our NATO policies. The more enterprising regret having to depend on the Chancellor for guidance, but, in the last analysis, dare not rely on their individual judgments. In addition, there is no cohesive party line to which they can subscribe except faith that the Old Man knows best. Their Moses is dour, authoritative Adenauer. He has led them almost to the end of the wilderness, and, to shift the metaphor, though some would like few have the courage to suggest dropping the pilot.

The result is a growing tendency merely to criticize what the U.S. does or leaves undone. This sterility is appalling but real. Occasionally, Gerstenmaier, Kiesinger or others will conceive nebulous ideas, but their logic is usually vitiated by the desire to preserve American troops in Berlin and the Federal Republic, or even vaguely in France, and to have the U.S. guarantee, in case such ideas do not succeed, the use of nuclear

DISTRIBUTION

323

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET

CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Form AE/GER-681 (Jul 57)

Corrections may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/DR-12 (AUG 57) THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

22
- 3 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

323
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

weapons in a general war against the Soviet Union. As to reliance on the British and the French, from a military power standpoint, such sentiment (except that the Germans are solicitous not to offend their feelings) simply does not exist.

Simultaneously, they strongly favor Western unity, and are insistent upon full disclosure of American views in the NATO forum. They are, oddly enough, at the same time, very loyal and yet the most suspicious of allies.

The Chancellor is one of the most remarkable modern statesmen. However, one must subject, in our common interests, his personality to critical examination. His charm is overwhelming, his courtesy disarming. As a politician, he is cunning, as a leader he is superb. But he lacks fertile imagination, which to date probably has been a blessing. A man of fixed principles, he is not agile under international conditions demanding maneuver. His judgment of men and events is often determined more by gossip than by analysis. He is a sucker for a glib story. Yet, [redacted], his strength, derived from an undeviating conviction that Good will finally prevail, is formidable and comforting.

If the above reflections are generally correct, we must be prepared to form policies on our own, and drag, if required, the Federal Republic in our wake. We must not, since we have to live with it, underestimate the suspiciousness of the Chancellor. He has seen and experienced much, and although confident of his own judgment, does not trust that of others.

DISTRIBUTION

323

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681 (Jul 57)

Correction may not be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM - AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT

CHARGE TO

23

-3-

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

323
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

unless constantly reassured as to its wisdom. He is resigned to an acceptance that, right or wrong, his country's destiny will be shaped by forces in Washington beyond his control except as he can preliminarily influence them. He hopes reviews of Washington policies can be undertaken in NAC, before irretrievably pronounced. In the course of such reviews, he relies on Blankenhorn to interpret German interests, unconscious of the fact, and I do not criticize, that his emissary, as a young Turk, is not devoid of concern for his own diplomatic future. Blankenhorn is an artist in intrigue, and likes to give delicate ~~and piercing~~ interpretations of what happens in NATO to the Chancellor, and has the wit to garb them in amusing style.

I feel that on fundamental issues we can trust the Chancellor to be in accord with us, but he must be carefully managed. Before the NATO meeting, he gave it to be believed that he wished the Soviet proposals on Berlin to be rejected in toto, without any reserve as to later negotiations. The reason for this was his suspicious fear that if he did not so posture himself we might be inclined to parley with the Soviets over Berlin. As soon as he was certain the Western Allies would be uncompromising on the maintenance of their rights in Berlin, his representatives in Paris, as you will recall, manifested great haste to leave the door open to discussion with the Soviets.

Adenauer's domestic situation, like that in England, and probably throughout the Continent, demands readiness on the part of the United States

DISTRIBUTION

323

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections which may be necessary must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12 (AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

- 4 -

24

SECRET — CLASSIFICATION

323 — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

to join in conversations with the Soviets, even though from these may flow no tangible results. But in Adenauer's mind, one topic as a separate item for negotiation is taboo, namely Berlin. That is the touchstone of his estimate of American good faith. He thinks we should continue to assert that the Soviet proposals in this regard are unacceptable and, if necessary, will be countered by force. However, there would be no objection to considering the future of Berlin in the context of a discussion of the German problem as a whole.

Like all great men, Adenauer is essentially direct. Although, as witness Embtel 1467, he wanders all over the landscape, giving vent to doubts and fears of a fanciful character, he always falls back on what he is sure of, i.e., the necessity for the FedRep to follow, after much expostulation, the lead of the U.S. To expect innovations from him would be mistaken. His character is defensive and negative, perhaps because of increasing years, but perhaps more largely because such an attitude has hitherto served the interests of his country and his own regime.

With above as background, should like to volunteer comments on our possible courses of action under prevailing circumstances.

1. Timing of delivery Soviet Note of January 10 during Mikoyan's presence in U.S., and between his first and second rounds of official talks, may be intended provoke unilateral official U.S. reaction to peace treaty proposal, and to create public impression Soviet Govt and ourselves

DISTRIBUTION

323

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET

Classification

Form AE/GER-681 (Jul 57)

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
[illegible]

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

25

- 5 -

SECRET — 323

CLASSIFICATION — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

already engaged in dialogue. Therefore recommend should Mikoyan try to discuss latest Soviet proposals or ask our views, he be told we share sentiments generally expressed in many countries that proposals seem to contain nothing new, but reply will be forthcoming in due course after usual consultation with our allies. Would also suggest that in statements to press at conclusion Mikoyan talks, U.S. Govt spokesman say Soviet note not discussed, and mention consultation between Western Allies.

2. The spate of Soviet initiatives beginning with Khrushchev statement November 10 constitutes a twin offensive directed against the security of the West, by direct pressure in case of Berlin and by longer term pressures in case of German peace treaty.

3. Although primary emphasis in Soviet January 10 note is on German peace treaty, statements concerning Berlin indicate no retreat from earlier Soviet position, and in fact suggest Berlin issue is devised as major instrument of pressure to force European "settlement" on Soviet terms. Expressed willingness consider "appropriate" counter-proposals on Berlin is meaningless, because note specifies such willingness depends on counter-proposals being "directed toward liquidation of occupation regime in West Berlin", i.e. withdrawal of Allied troops.

4. Since such is clearly unacceptable, I recommend reply to Soviet note reiterate in strongest terms that we are not prepared to

DISTRIBUTION

323

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET

CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-512

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Form 1A

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT

CHARGE TO

26
- 6 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

323
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

negotiate on or even discuss Berlin, and that we intend maintain city's freedom and our position there by whatever means may be necessary. I am disturbed by Spaak implication that "West should be prepared negotiate on Berlin alone" (Paris POLTO 1926 to Dept) and by what seems to be growing tendency to seek "alternative solution" for Berlin. I see no alternative at present to maintenance Western position Berlin on basis our rights to be there and our determination stay there. Any suggestion that we are now in mood to consider alternative to Soviets' free-city proposal, or otherwise negotiate regarding city's status could easily be interpreted as meaning we were prepared to bargain away our rights, and such a public interpretation would play havoc with Allies' confidence in us.

5. Fact that six-months time limit as regards Berlin is not mentioned in Soviet note may indicate they are prepared at least postpone deadline if negotiations on Germany are under way or in prospect. Otherwise, firmness with which Soviets have reiterated their position on Berlin does not afford much ground for optimism concerning their intentions. Continuance of exchanges of notes may only freeze position, so that graceful withdrawal by Soviets on Berlin issue is rendered more difficult.

Therefore it seems to me we should try to persuade Soviets toward face-saving recourse to negotiations on overall problems which would absorb and soften Berlin issue. One possibility might be after making

DISTRIBUTION

323

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Paragraph information on the original must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT

CHARGE TO

27
- 7 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

323
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

emphatically clear to Soviets our rights in Berlin are not negotiable, and pointing out that Berlin is essentially only part of the larger German problem, to propose, if FedRep and other NATO allies agree, conference on "Germany" (not excluding a peace treaty) to be held within next three months, say mid-April after NATO meeting, and in Geneva. We might further propose that if at this conference agreement is reached on the essential and inseparable aspects of the German problem which must be resolved before a peace treaty can be concluded ~~must be concluded~~, it be followed immediately by a "peace conference" of the Governments of those states which were at war with Hitler Germany.

6. Seems to me that advantage of setting our own terms we would thereby seize initiative from Soviets. At very least this maneuver might cause delay in Soviets' Berlin plans and lessen possibility separate Soviet peace treaty with GDR (Moscow's tel 1409 to Dept).

BRUCE

D.B.

For the Ambassador
W.R. Tyler

AUTH: David Bruce

1926 CN 550 Jan 12 SECRET

1409 CN 559 Jan 12 CONF

DISTRIBUTION
AMB
DCM
POL - 1
ECON - 1
CA - 1
NO OTHERS

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

323

AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111
POL: WRTyler/RWellington/DKlein
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections made on this original MUST be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12 (AUG-57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMEMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

8 RRJ

AMB
DCM
POL
CA

28
SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

305
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

14 January 1959 3 PM
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON NIACT 1477

EYES ONLY FOR SECRETARY FROM BRUCE

Adenauer sent for me this morning. FonMin also present. He said had just held Cabinet meeting, and discussion largely confined to ~~discussion~~ text your Press Conference yesterday.

I verified fact he had correct transcript.

He concentrated remarks on that portion concerning free elections not being an absolutely exclusive method.

He said repercussions in Germany would be momentous, and destructive of his long established policy reunification could only be achieved after free elections. Already most SPD and FDP leaders had favored conversations with Pankow. This was for him inadmissable, since whole East Germany was in effect only an extension of Soviet Union, and idea Confederation in any form totally unacceptable. Now those naive people ready negotiate with Pankow would be encouraged by interpretation they would give in their own interests to your having opened door to other possible methods bring about reunification.

I would characterize his and Brentano's expressions as being little short of violent. I tried to assuage their alarm by placing the matter in proper perspective but to little avail.

Adenauer asked me to communicate to you urgently his preoccupation.

DISTRIBUTION

305

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-661 (Jul. 57)

Correction or INFORMATION COPY may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12 (AUG-57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

-29
-2

SECRET — CLASSIFICATION

305 — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

and to inquire whether you could not, in response to a planted question, enter into explanation as to why your response in this regard was theoretical, and did not indicate any intention of considering departure from long established policy. When I sought constructive thought as to substance, they were unproductive.

They anticipate shortly violent campaign against Govt based on assumption U. S. ready to consider alternative to free elections, including assent negotiations between FedRep and Pankow.

If it be practicable and advisable to try to comply with Chancellor's request, suggest you might consider some such language as follows:

QUOTE There are various theoretical possibilities for bringing about reunification of divided portions of a formerly united country. But, in the case of Germany, since Soviets have invariably denied citizens of so-called GDR right to express their wishes in a democratic manner, no negotiations could satisfactorily result unless they had as a premise the acceptance of free election procedures in both parts of Germany. UNQUOTE

Chancellor said he was more concerned than ever about outcome conversations with Mikoyan. Any communiqué following them should

DISTRIBUTION

305

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET — CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681 (Jul 57)

Corrections or INFORMATION COPY may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG. 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

30
- 3 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

305
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

be drafted with utmost clarity so that Mikoyan and Khrushchev could not distort contents to serve their own purposes.

I am following this immediately with another telegram for limited distribution, expressing certain general thoughts on German problems.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

DISTRIBUTION
AMB 3
DCM
POL
CA
NO OTHERS

305

AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-68L
(Jul. 57)

Corrections or additional copies must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

Francois Seydoux and Leduc came to see me this afternoon to inquire why I had seen the Chancellor two days running. I told them what I thought they ought to know.

The Australian Ambassador, Shaw, arrived on a similar mission. He is a [redacted] good man.

Thursday, January 15, 1959

The new Norwegian Ambassador, Vogt, came to see me this morning. He has just served five years as Ambassador to Japan where he was on the best terms with John Allison. Vogt is [redacted] personable. He [redacted] studied in Germany as a young man.

I went this afternoon to pay my return call on the Argentine Ambassador. I like him and enjoy talking to him. He is a great believer in President Frondizi and thinks his policies have an excellent chance of success.

Receiving and returning diplomatic calls is pleasant in every respect except that it does entail a great expenditure of time. Since the Argentine Ambassador has his offices in Bonn, I devoted about an hour and a half to this enterprise. With about 80 missions here, and considering transfers of Chiefs of Missions, the number of hours consumed in this connection during the course of a year is formidable.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

General Maroun of USAREUR came to see me this afternoon. The Department has designs on the train allocated to me and paid for out of occupation funds. Unfortunately, the desire of the Department is to abolish the train after the end of this fiscal year. However, we hope to save it, and General Maroun will propose to his superiors it be shifted over to the Army and the State Department will reimburse the Army on a use basis.

Gaston Coblentz spent an hour with me this afternoon. He reports widespread concern in Germany over the Secretary's press conference remarks about free elections, and thinks this will become a major issue between the Chancellor and the opposition parties. A clarifying statement on the subject was made in Washington this morning, but does not seem to have calmed the situation here.

Tonight we went to a dinner at the Redoute for the Diplomatic Corps, given by President Heuss. It was a huge affair attended by most of the Diplomatic Corps and a large contingent of German officials, chiefly from the Foreign Office. The President looked well.

Before dinner Smirnow, [redacted] just returned from Moscow, came over and had [redacted] a talk alone with me, expressing his pleasure at seeing Tommy Thompson in Moscow. He talked a bit about Mikoyan's visit to the United States and said he thought it would have a good result on relations between the two countries. It was

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

probably just as well I could not muster up enough German to get into the substance of recent Soviet actions. Smirnow was, as he always has been, genial and courteous.

The Germans with whom I conversed were bewildered by the flattering and hearty welcome extended at home to Mikoyan. Personally, I highly disapprove of the character of his reception. I think it quite shameful to have the Hungarian refugees on one side of the street protesting against his record and on the other side, in every large city he has visited, witness the flow of many of the most respectful and influential citizens of the various communities to wine and dine him and applaud what no doubt are, in view of his record, almost entirely hypocritical utterances. It seems to me entirely proper to receive him on an official basis, but to have him greeted publicly with a sort of undiscriminating adulation runs against my grain. It is amazing how people can be so credulous.

Friday, January 16, 1959

Sydney Gruson came to see me this morning and talked about those portions of Dulles' press conference bearing on reunification. We had a telegram this morning recounting the interview between the Secretary, Dittmann, and Grewe, in the course of which Dulles, I thought unrealistically, mentioned that he could conceive of confederation on terms which might enable the Federal Republic to

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

capitalize on the feelings of the East German people and get rid of their Communist Government. When this is reported to the Chancellor, I should guess he will blow another gasket.

Klaus Ahlefeld came for lunch today at home, and as other guests we had Maria Schwartz, Maya de Montaudouin and Al Wells. He had driven down from The Hague this morning and brought with him a welcome and huge basket of Dutch oysters as a present. He brought me messages from Prince Bernhard, whom I have not seen for a long time but who is continuing to be [redacted] useful, especially with his Bilderburg meetings.

I had a German lesson from Frau Toscha this afternoon, then took a smallpox vaccination. Since the outbreak at Heidelberg, which now seems to have subsided, almost everyone in the community has been scratched again. I should imagine I was entirely immune, having had dozens of these vaccinations in the course of my life.

Gufler came down from Berlin today. I had a talk with him before going home, where we had a dinner in honor of the Trimbles, with the following guests: Ambassador of Australia and Mrs. Shaw, Prof. and Mrs. Karl Carstens, Mr. and Mrs. Marjoribanks, Mr. and Mrs. Lorenzo Betteloni, Dr. and Mrs. Wilhelm W. Schuetz, Mr. and Mrs. L. A. D. Stephens, Dr. and Mrs. Nikolaus Fasolt, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Luchsinger, the Guflers and Al Wells.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

It was an uncommonly pleasant evening.

Trimble's agrément from the Cambodian Government has been given to Washington, and he is now awaiting his formal nomination from the White House to the Senate. He expects to leave about February 1.

We are all concerned in the office over the progress of the talks between Dulles and Mikoyan, and the disgusting enthusiasm with which Mikoyan has everywhere been greeted during his American tour. It would seem that consideration is being given to a drastic change in U. S. policy regarding Germany, including consideration of the Soviet idea of confederation of the two Germanies. We are uninformed as to what, if anything, may be in the minds of the policy makers. Perhaps they are just engaging in talk to lessen the charges of not being sufficiently flexible. Confederation without free elections either before or afterwards would be one of the finest exercises in futility, to say nothing of the dangers consequent upon it, ever conceived by politicians. A Communist state of 17 million allied within some political structure with a Free state of 52 million would present a problem in organization and management almost unknown heretofore. Despite charges of clinging to frozen policies, there are certain fundamental principles that should not be departed from. The same applies to the conduct of an individual.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Just before dinner, we sent out a telegram on an Aide Memoire submitted by the British a few days ago; it had just come to our attention. (See pages 37 and 38.)

Saturday, January 17, 1959

Office this morning. Telegrams came in reporting on two conversations held yesterday between Dulles and Mikoyan. One lasted two and a half hours, and the other almost an hour and a half. The reports were very skimpy. Apparently neither side gave anything away. Mikoyan's attitude reflected buoyancy and self-confidence. Dulles was strong on our firmness of intention to maintain our position in Berlin.

This morning President Eisenhower and the Secretary are meeting with Mikoyan. I made an appointment to see von Brentano tomorrow and inform him of the nature of these various talks.

DECLASSIFIED

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

- 38 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

418
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE
-2-

DATE

Moreover, we question practicability any interim solutions Berlin question. [redacted] What is value of Soviet commitment to insure that GDR will carry out responsibilities abandoned by Soviets? If GDR reneges on responsibilities what recourse would we have? Although it faintly possible our garrisons could remain for a while in Berlin on sufferance GDR, we convinced we could not maintain our position there for very long on such basis.

BRUCE

William R. Tyler

AUTH:POL - William R. Tyler

1509 CN 771 JAN 16 SEC

1486 CN 323 JAN 14 SEC

DISTRIBUTION

418

417

POL:DKlein/[redacted]:hp 1-16-59

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-58
(Jul. 57)

INFORMATION COPY must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

Sunday, January 18, 1959

Hailing and snowing; temperature around 35°.

I went to Venusberg this morning to see von Brentano at his home. I made the following report on this visit (pages 40-41).

I like Brentano, [redacted]. He is always friendly and frank in his dealings. Moreover, being utterly loyal to the Chancellor, one can take what he says as representing policy. He is extremely careful to specify when he is talking on his own and not reflecting a settled government position. Excessively nervous, he is dependent on tobacco more than almost any man I ever met. He always has a box of cigarettes on his desk or table, and a huge lighted candle, I suppose so that there will be no loss of time in lighting cigarettes.

DECLASSIFIED

Form A (AU) Form AE/GER-12 (AUG 57) THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE / AMERICAN EMBASSY BONN

CHARGE TO 40

10 EAS-EAS

AMB
DCM
POL
ECON
USIS
CA

SECRET — CLASSIFICATION

430 — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

1 PM

18 January 1959 — DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 1522

RPT INFO: AmEmbassy LONDON PRIORITY 340

AmEmbassy PARIS PRIORITY 480

AmEmbassy MOSCOW PRIORITY 183

AmEmbassy ROME PRIORITY 55

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

Communicated substance Deptels 1523, 1530, 1537 and 1538 re Mikoyan visit to FonMin this morning. He took copious notes but said he had no immediate comment. Is leaving today for Strasbourg meeting, returning Tuesday, then expects derive from vonEckardt and Dittmann impressions their American visit. (Incidentally, Chancellor will be much impressed by vonEckardt's views.)

Speaking in personal capacity, FonMin said he thought:

1. We should be ready to have conference with Soviets commencing FonMin level, trailing off to technical level meetings, then resumption, if appropriate, by FonMins.

2. There should be no summit conference unless issues had previously been sharpened to point where constructive agreements seemed possible.

3. On no account should we allow Berlin question be listed as separate item on conference agenda or otherwise treated in isolation.

4. Since now appears almost impossible mutually agree upon

DISTRIBUTION

430

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET

CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681 (Jul 57)

Corrections made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12 (AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CONFIDENTIAL

CHARGE TO

41

- 2 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

430
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

agenda for FonMins conference, he would be willing for it take place without any agenda.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

Deptel 1523 CN 824 Jan 16 Secret
Deptel 1530 CN 844 Jan 16 Secret
Deptel 1537 CN 877 Jan 17 Secret
Deptel 1538 CN 878 Jan 17 OUO

DISTRIBUTION
AMB
DCM
POL
ECON
USIS
CA
NO OTHERS

430

AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-12

Corrections made on this INFORMATION COPY on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

The papers here continue to reflect the Mikoyan visit and stress the impression he seems to have made upon many of our leaving industrialists and professional men and politicians. We have just received an almost ludicrous message from the Department of State telling us to point out that this does not mean the American people are gullible. I find such a task beyond our abilities. It was right to greet him officially as the second-ranking man in his powerful governmental structure, but the extent of private courtesies and public curiosity was entirely unwarranted. The feeling will spread in other parts of the world that our firmness vis-a-vis the Soviets has weakened, and I imagine will create a hardening all along the line in Soviet policy. At no point has Mikoyan given any indication of a willingness on the part of his Government to be conciliatory.

We went late this afternoon to a basketball game and later the whole family had dinner at the Club.

A six-weeks old puppy, grandson of our bitch Jody, arrived last night as a gift from Mrs. Pope. He is [redacted] cute and runs squealing about the house with his tail wagging like mad. The older dogs view him so far with a mixture of fear, jealousy and distaste.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

Monday, January 19, 1959

The new Burmese Minister, Myat Tun, came to see me this morning. He speaks English fluently but no German. His previous post was Australia.

I saw three new Embassy officers this morning: Captain Prevosti, AF officer attached to MAAG; Arthur Bunn, Exchanges Officer assigned to the U. S. Information Service; and Henry Baxter, of the Communications Unit.

We received today a copy of the message sent by the Chancellor on January 12, 1959 to the Secretary. Since the meeting between Mikoyan and President Eisenhower had already been arranged, this letter was not actually delivered by the German Embassy in Washington to the Secretary, but it remains of interest. It read as follows:

"My dear friend,

Mikoyan's visit has in my opinion shown Khrushchev and Soviet policy from the worst conceivable side. The Aide-Memoire which he handed to you at the end of his conversation did not contain the least trace of an accommodating attitude in the Berlin question. The proposals for a peace treaty contain not only once again all the proposals rejected for years by the Western powers, and indeed some of them in more emphatic terms, they are in my opinion plainly provocative by reason of the places suggested for negotiation

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

and the request to invite all Germany's former enemies to participate in the negotiations. Khrushchev's positi[illegible] does not seem to me to be favorable either in the interior of the Soviet Union or in its dependent states. It is my impression that he sent Mikoyan to the United States in order to be able to show some success by means of Mikoyan's trip, not least to the Communist party congress on 22 January.

I feel that in view of the general conduct of the Soviet Union it would not be right to give Mikoyan the honor of being received by the President of the United States. There is no doubt whatsoever that such a reception would strengthen Khrushchev's position most considerably both inside and outside the Soviet Union. Herr von Brentano shares my opinion. Today we are sending Ministerialdirektor Dittmann of the Federal Foreign Office, to the United States so that he, together with Ambassador Grewe may present our opinion to you. Owing to the shortage of time available I take the liberty of sending this letter to you in advance.

I trust you have made good recovery, and remain with kind regards, as always,

Yours sincerely

Adenauer."

I talked to Col. Miller about a RAF matter the British Air Attaché had brought up with him, and arranged to settle it with the British Ambassador.

Kit Steel came in this evening and I brought him up to date

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

on Mikoyan's talks in Washington. He said the Foreign Office was [redacted] in favor of a Foreign Ministers' conference, if necessary without an agenda, and also wished to inquire into the various possible types of participation by the UN in connection with the Berlin affair.

Tuesday, January 20, 1959

Deputy Secretary of Defense Quarles came to see me with General Warren and General Thatcher. I told him of my conversations last week with the Chancellor, Brentano and Strauss about the two agreements regarding nuclear matters which we were desirous of making with the Federal Republic. Quarles strikes me [redacted] favorably [redacted] and has, of course, an excellent background in the scientific field.

We had a lunch for him and his wife at the house, the other guests being: Brig. Gen. R. H. Warren, General Thatcher, and his wife, General and Mrs. Steinbach, Mr. and Mrs. Trimble, Mr. and Mrs. Tyler, Col. Miller, Col. and Mrs. Lassetter, Captain and Mrs. Scott, and Al Wells.

German lesson.

Dave Nichol of the Chicago Daily News came to see me this afternoon and tonight I went to a stag reception and dinner given for President Heuss by the members of the German Press Club.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

The affair got underway at eight o'clock under the stimulus of pink champagne. The hundred or so guests next adjourned to a large room where the President of the Club devoted a half hour of oratory to lauding President Heuss. Frau Professor Li Stadelmann, an instructor in music at Munich, seated her solid bulk before a harpischord, and without referring to a score played with great virtuosity, seventeen selections from thirteen composers.

We then went to the dining-rooms, and broke up into groups at small tables. I was well entertained by the conversation of my companions, a Vietnamese, a Burmese, a Mexican, and a Spaniard.

President Heuss sent for me and we talked until midnight. Von Brentano told me he saw Dittmann today, upon the latter's return from Washington. The Chancellor and the Foreign Minister were, as a result of his report, happy over the steadiness of American foreign policy regarding German affairs.

I conversed with many German correspondents. Some without deserting the principle of reunification after free el we should consider reunification to be followed, after a tim free elections. They did not stomach the idea of a Confederation to be arrived at through Bonn-Pankow negotiations.

Wednesday, January 21, 1959

Th erature is almost 50° today; the sun is out and it is like sprin

I had in the three local employees who run the Health Unit, as well as two American wives of Embassy Officers who generously assisted in the vaccination of our personnel against smallpox. There were photographs and presentation of a scroll to each of the volunteers. In a period of ten days, the Health Unit vaccinated 1180 of our people.

Secretary Quarles came in after lunch and told me of his satisfactory conversation with Minister Strauss and his staff. Between them they cleared out a lot of dead-wood, and I am [redacted] impressed by Quarles's quickness and efficiency.

Crosby Noyes, of the Washington Star, called on me this afternoon. He has an ideal job, with headquarters in Paris, responsibility on behalf of his paper for all of Europe, and no deadlines to meet although he writes two or three articles a week. He has just been in Berlin. He is an attractive man. I had not seen him for three or four years.

I sent the following telegram to the Department, reporting on my conversation last night with President Heuss. (See pages 48-49.)

We dined tonight with the Austrian Ambassador.

THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

1207 21 JAN 59

48

CLASS TO

33 EEP

AMB

DCM

POL

ECON

USIS

CA

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

512
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

21 January 1959 NOON
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON ROUTINE 1542

RPT INFO: AmEmbassy LONDON ROUTINE 349

AmEmbassy PARIS ROUTINE 493

AmEmbassy MOSCOW ROUTINE 186

USMission BERLIN ROUTINE 488

USAFE WIESBADEN ROUTINE 309

USAREUR HEIDELBERG ROUTINE 390

PARIS PASS USRO, USCINCEUR, THURSTON AND WEST

I had long private conversation last night with Pres. Heuss. He is excellent man, intellectually independent, morally superior. He said he was not free (because of his constitutional status) to express himself publicly, but held certain views on German foreign policy which were not fundamentally at variance with those of Chancellor.

After querying me on Mikoyan visit, he observed:

1. There must be no negotiation with Soviets on Berlin question except in larger framework, and we must continue convince them of our firmness in face of their unacceptable proposals. Could not himself now envisage suitable alternative to our present position.

2. We should be ready to talk to Soviets ad infinitum on any and all subjects, excepting Berlin in isolation, regardless of any expectation of constructive results.

3. A summit conference should not be held unless preliminary

AUTHENTICATION

512

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE - 681
(Nov 56)

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections and Additions must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Declassified", reproduction from this copy is not authorized

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

-2-

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

512
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

preparations indicated successful conclusions.

4. He did not think we should depart from current policies because accused of intransigence. In personal life, if one is opposed to murder, arson, stealing, one does not alter ethics when charged with being old-fashioned, or when change might seem momentarily opportune or tempting.

5. However, he thought Western Powers would make mistake in not welcoming, even initiating, conference with Soviets, and taking their chances in regard adverse propaganda. But would be unrealistic of them to enter upon such parleys with expectation of achieving propaganda victory.

6. Exchanges of notes, the language of which bored people, were more unfavorable to us than whatever might come from the confrontation and debate of Foreign Ministers.

In this connection, my new Norwegian colleague lately told me he thought Westerners vastly exaggerated our inferiority to Soviets in propaganda field. He considered public opinion should be assessed in terms of political reactions. In that respect, in his own country, in France, Italy, and elsewhere in Western Europe, the power of indigenous Communist parties had been steadily on wane. This constituted refutation of strident allegations that Western statesmen could not hold their own against Soviet diplomats.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

DISTRIBUTION
AMB
DCM
POL
ECON
USIS
CA

512

AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111
Name of originating Office, Person's Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified", reproduction from this copy is not authorized.

Form AE-661
(Nov 56)

DECLASSIFIED

Thursday, January 22, 1959

Colonel Beasley came to say goodby this morning. He is leaving tomorrow for a new assignment in the States. We are [redacted] sorry to have him go.

Alexander Klieforth, the new head of RIAS, called on me. His organization is having its usual budget troubles, and the Federal Republic Government will be asked to share a larger amount of the expenses.

I paid a return call on the Costa Rican Ambassador Amrhein. He has been in business for many years in his own country and is [redacted] interesting on the subject of its single-crop economy, coffee, and the attempts being made to diversify its exportable products. He says they have been successful in building up cattle stocks and sending meat to the United States, and especially to Peru. They are also developing fine dairy herds with Jerseys and Guernseys which become immune to most tropical diseases. As a result, there is a demand for their progeny in other tropical countries and in the southern part of the United States.

Henry Tasca and I went to see Minister Erhard this afternoon. He had Dr. Westrick and other members of his staff with him. He had sent for us to tell us of a decision just reached in the Cabinet to subject importations of American coal to a tariff and quota. The real effect of this is to impose a quota for this calendar year on coal from the

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

United States. There is a long history behind this move. We have followed it with close attention for months, and [redacted] had innumerable interchanges with the Department about it. We are sending off a long telegram tonight on this conversation.

Herb Altschull came to see me. He was particularly concerned with the reports in today's European edition of the Herald-Tribune alleging, first, that the United States is spurring a study of confederation between the two Germanies, and secondly, that the United States and the United Kingdom are split on the use of ground forces on the approaches to Berlin in case the Soviets turn over the control points to the GDR. I disavowed any knowledge of either report, which is the truth. However, they will be picked up in the German press tomorrow and will, I am sure, cause considerable excitement.

The European press is everywhere repeating stories emanating from Washington stating the Department of State is engaged in a reappraisal of its German policy. To date the Chancellor has paid no attention to them. I saw Globke at the Austrian Embassy last night, and he told me Adenauer was perfectly satisfied with what Dittmann and von Eckardt represented to be Dulles's views.

I went to a stag dinner tonight given by von Brentano at his house for Henry Kissinger.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

There were about 20 guests, all Germans with the exception of Henry Tasca and myself. I had no opportunity to converse with Mr. Kissinger, because immediately after dinner von Brentano took me off and we talked for a couple of hours about various political matters; but we found time to crack a few jokes and to drench ourselves with some excellent beer.

Friday, January 23, 1959

Fred Luchsinger of the Neue Zuercher Zeitung came to lunch with me. I told him I dined with von Brentano last night, and he expressed the same good opinion of him that I entertain -intelligent, completely loyal to the Chancellor, sensible, courageous and honorable. He lacks the political flair necessary for outstanding success in parliamentary life, but in spite of his critics seems to both of us a good Foreign Minister.

Fred thinks the present cry to be flexible for the sake of flexibility may betray us all. He does not think it wise to depart from previous policies unless some substantial gain would thereby accrue to the Free World. That the Soviets would make concessions to our advantage appears to him entirely unlikely. Moreover, they are not disturbed over their present position in regard to the satellite countries and, in his estimation, have no reason to fear successful revolts. Under such circumstances, he thinks they will give away

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

nothing at a bargaining table. However, the Western powers should be re[illegible]neet them in conferences and to discuss, interminably if necessary, any topics they may develop, and attempt to show the falsity of Soviet accusations against the West.

I talked on similar lines with Bill Tyler this afternoon. We are still without any word as to any new Departmental thinking about Germany except that the working groups will soon start functioning in Washington. Meanwhile, some studies are being prepared in the German Foreign Office.

Mr. Siegfried Goetz, a member of the National Advisory Council on Rural Civil Defense, who lives in Frederick County, Maryland, came to see me. He is making a study of bomb shelters in Germany and says they are further advanced here in such construction than we are at home.

John Bross came up from Frankfurt and is spending the night at our house. We went together to a stag dinner given by Seymour Bolten for Henry Kissinger. Henry was born in Germany and lived here for his first twelve years. He speaks the language fluently. I had a long private talk with him after dinner. He feels if we depart from our firm attitude toward the Berlin problem our prestige will be hopelessly shattered everywhere in the world. He is pessimistic over the practicability, in the event of a war, of our being able to

DECLASSIFIED

"pulverize" Russia. He thinks the casualties on both sides would be horrible, and the Soviets, by making the first attack, would have a considerable advantage over us. It was a gloomy conversation.

Saturday, January 24, 1959

At the office.

Dr. Nahum Goldman, President of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, came to see me this morning. Born in Germany, now for a long time an American citizen, he has been [redacted] active in securing indemnities in connection with Jews liquidated by the Hitler regime. He said under the Chancellor's propulsion, the Parliament had appropriated, and would continue to appropriate, far larger sums for this purpose than any the Jews ever anticipated or even hoped for. The total amount to be paid by 1964 will be about four billion dollars. Against a pre-war population of about 600,000 Jews in Germany, there now remain in the Federal Republic only 30,000 and approximately 1500 in the East Zone.

Yesterday was a spring-like day, and this morning commenced in the same fashion, with intermittent rainy spells.

John Bross told me this morning he expected to go home in June and take a long rest at his farm in New Hampshire before deciding

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

whether he will return to Government service or strike off into some other activity. He is a valuable man with a very sympathetic and attractive personality.

Sunday, January 25, 1959

E and I went to church this morning. Mr. Sutton preached an interesting sermon on the ecclesiastical chaos in the United States resulting from the presence there of 200-odd different sects in the Protestant Church. He cited, for example, one small city in which each of four corners was occupied by a Protestant Church - in the broad sense of the term - of a different denomination.

I read today Lord Strang's Memoirs, especially that part bearing on his experiences as head of the British delegation to the European Advisory Council. It threw some additional light on the circumstances under which the four-power rule of Berlin was constituted, but did not, in my opinion, satisfactorily explain why we engaged in the wild folly of not stipulating in a written agreement what respective rights of access were to be.

At five o'clock Maria and Harry Schwartz brought Mrs. Schwartz in a wheel chair to see us. She has deteriorated somewhat in health since we last visited her, but is mentally very lively. Harry [redacted] just returned from a shooting trip in Spain where he was a guest of some members of Maria's family. Their 60,000 acre preserve, not

DECLASSIFIED

far from Jerez, is a famous sporting ground. They had bad luck with ducks, because the marshes had been submerged by heavy rains, but they shot geese, partridges, snipe, woodcock and stag. The camels brought there in Moorish times existed in a wild state until last year when they were stolen by enterprising rustlers from Madrid. No one knows to what use they have been converted.

Tonight we went to a movie in Plittersdorf starring Gary Cooper and Suzy Parker. She was the best looking woman I have seen for years.

Monday, January 26, 1959

We are having considerable traffic over the coal situation. A meeting of Ruhr coal miners to protest against a shortening of working hours in the industry was held yesterday, was attended by 70,000 people.

General Gehlen, head of the German Secret Service, lunched with me today in company with John Bross and Henry Pleasants. He is frank, reliable and intelligent. He feels the German Government must not do any free-wheeling in connection with Soviet demands but will have to continue to depend on the United States for leadership.

Morris Helitzer came to see me this afternoon to ask what the "new flexibility" in the State Department attitude toward Germany

DECLASSIFIED

meant. I was unable to enlighten him, and said in my opinion our people were engaged in the ordinary procedure of contemplating and studying a variety of suggestions.

E and I went to the Indian Republic Day reception at the Stadthalle. Our hosts were dressed in gorgeous native costumes. Perhaps because no alcoholic drinks were served, each guest upon entering had flowers pinned on his or her lapel. I have never seen such attractive hors d'oeuvres as were laid out on the tables in Indian wicker baskets.

We went immediately from there to the Redoute where the Australians were engaged in the same sort of ceremony, minus flowers.

Afterwards we dined at the Turkish Embassy, where I was drawn into political discussions with Minister Erhard and van Scherpenberg. We talked much and settled nothing. The Turkish Ambassador is keen about cooking, and I have never had a better dinner or more enjoyable wines.

Tuesday, January 27, 1959

After another talk about the coal situation and other economic matters with Henry Tasca, including the treatment of a telegram from the Department registering the strongest sort of protest against the tariff and quota on coal imports, I went to see the Hatian Minister

DECLASSIFIED

Beauvoir. He dislikes cold weather, alcohol, being away from the tropics, the dangers of motoring in Germany, lack of work to do, and a number of other things. However, I should judge he is gay by nature, for he cracks jokes over his lack of adaptability to German customs and weather. His laments, in fluent French, are meant to amuse rather than be serious.

Felix von Eckardt lunched with Bill Tyler and myself at the house. We spent two hours and a half in conversation about his recent trip to the United States and present policies in Germany. He favors a Foreign Ministers' Conference unrestricted as to agenda.

I was [redacted] late for my German lesson and had only fifteen minutes to devote to it.

This evening we went to cocktails at the von Brauns, in Bonn. He is Chief of Protocol. We then took the train to Cologne for dinner with Canadian Ambassador Reid. It was clear and cold in Cologne.

We had a delightful dinner and much conversation afterward among the men. Graf von Hardenberg, a close associate of von Brentano, had lived in Russia twelve years or longer. He believes the chief factor in Soviet policy toward Germany is fear of a remilitarized Germany. I do not believe this. It is one

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

consideration in the formulation of their policies, but I think their chief objective is to obtain control over the whole of this country. They already have the Eastern part of Germany in their grasp and will use every tactic and threat eventually to possess the rest. Their patience gives them an advantage.

Escott Reid, after serving five years in India, is inclined, I think, to stress too much the importance of public opinion in the so-called uncommitted countries. He seems to think Western decisions about Germany should be taken in the light of reactions in these countries. This appears to me to be erroneous and dangerous. The Indian Government, for example, has no responsibility for the settlement of these vexatious questions. Their leaders criticize freely but thus far have offered no solution except capitulation to Soviet demands.

Wednesday, January 28, 1959

Sunny and clear.

I went over a long telegram with Henry Tasca this morning dealing with involved questions concerning GATT, the common market, and the Free Trade Area.

This afternoon a group gathered in my office and I presented a silver cigarette box on their behalf to Bill Trimble.

At five o'clock we had a film showing of "S Bahn to Freedom",

DECLASSIFIED

a movie dealing with refugee movements from the East Zone.

Dr. Wohltat, director of several important German corporations, who spends about five months of each year in the United States, came down from Duesseldorf to lunch with me today. He is a member of a committee engaged in the examination of investments in underdeveloped countries. We exchanged a good many ideas on this subject as well as on various other political and economic topics. I found him sensible and [redacted] well informed.

He observed that the Soviets are presently not in a position of any particular embarrassment as a result of their complete domination over Eastern Germany. If they give up anything in respect to it, it must be in return for concessions unpleasing and dangerous to the West. However, the Western powers should be ready to listen to any proposals they may have to offer. It would be better not to make such answers in writing but to search out Soviet intentions around a conference table.

Richard Williams and Hugh Greene, the former the local representative of the BBC and the latter its Foreign Editor in London (he is never mentioned without attention being called to the fact he is a brother of Graham Greene), called on me this afternoon. Greene had seen the Chancellor. He said Adenauer seemed less disturbed than had previously been reported over the possibility of

DECLASSIFIED

the Labor Party coming into power in England. This I do not believe to be the case, for I think he still dreads such a development. Greene said that if Bevan were to be named Foreign Minister, within two or three months afterwards he would probably adopt the same foreign policy line laid down by the Conservative Government. This does not seem to me probable, for I would imagine Bevan was a man of stronger convictions than this would imply. We had a long talk, but the general impression I derived from it was confirmation of the unpopularity in Great Britain of any course of action threatening resort to war.

We had conveyed to us today by the Department a blast from John L. Lewis and American coal operators against the latest decisions taken by the German Government to curtain import of U. S. coal. We made representations in this respect yesterday and the day before, and will follow through on similar instructions today. This is one of the occasions on which both oxen have been gored. There is much unemployment in the American coal mines as there is in Germany. Our desire to preserve the lush market acquired here in the last eight years runs counter to the Ruhr coal miners' insistence on barring foreign coal from sale in West Germany until their own accumulated stocks, now amounting to about 15 million tons, have been reduced to more

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

managable proportions. A couple of nights ago at the Turkish Embassy, Erhard told me this question had caused him more concern than any other arising in the last couple of years, because of his fear American public opinion would resent the imposition of a tariff and a quota. He is quite right about his apprehensions, but the coal operators and miners here are adamant in insisting upon some sort of preemptive action being taken by their government.

Friday, January 30, 1959

Reginald Peck of the London Daily Mirror came to see me. He had spent most of the last six months in the Middle East and wanted to refurbish his information on German matters.

We went to a lunch at the Embassy Club given by the Administrative Section for the Trimbles. Bob Loupe presided as Toastmaster and made a screamingly funny speech. The music halls lost a brilliant actor to the Foreign Service.

Ernest Leiser came to see me this afternoon and spoke with his usual good sense.

I went to call on Kit Steel at his office, and we talked about the preparatory work being done in anticipation of a conference with the Soviets.

A telegram arrived this morning embodying a letter from

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

the Secretary to the Chancellor in the following terms:

"My dear friend:

You have, I know, received reports from your Ambassador here of the various conversations which Soviet Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan had with the President and myself during his visit to the United States. I need not tell you, therefore, that at his departure the Berlin situation stood just where it did at his arrival. Mr. Mikoyan took some pains to convey by his manner an apparent willingness to be conciliatory. His actual words, however, showed no significant deviation from the Soviet position expressed orally by Premier Khrushchev and in the Soviet notes of November 27 and January 10. It is true that he said the Soviet demands were not intended as an ultimatum. Nevertheless, at no point did he hint that, failing agreement with the Western powers by May 27, the Soviets would be deterred from turning over their responsibilities to the Pankow regime. He repeatedly asked for counter proposals on Berlin from us, but he made no new proposals on his own, nor of course did we have any to make. On our part, both the President and I impressed on Mikoyan our flat intention to maintain our rights in Berlin.

"The fact that nothing of great significance emerged from the talks with Mr. Mikoyan has undoubtedly disappointed many who, before his arrival, had speculated that he would bring a new and more acceptable offer from the Soviets. I cannot say that I was myself greatly surprised. As I told Dr. Dittmann and Ambassador Grewe on January 14, it would have been contrary to the normal techniques employed by the Soviets to compromise or retreat at this early stage. They may be expected to press their demands until they have satisfied themselves that we are prepared to fight over Berlin.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

"I am inclined to believe that the Soviets have been taken somewhat aback by the firmness and unity of purpose on Berlin shown by the NATO countries during their December meeting in Paris. It is probable that, among his purposes, Mikoyan came to the United States to assess the strength of our determination on this issue as well as the general fiber of the country. I believe that he must have returned to Moscow with no illusions on either score. The time of testing for the West, however, is still ahead. We shall need our unity and firmness over the months to come. This is the indispensable prerequisite for dispelling the crisis over Berlin which the Soviets have precipitated.

"We are still far from fully developing a tactical position which offers some prospect for such a solution. We are also, like yourself, engaged in a review of our common position on substance to see if we can find a form of presentation more persuasive than our Geneva efforts of 1955. I think we must realistically admit that the Soviet initiative has added a new psychological element in terms of expectancies, as well as underlining the delicately poised post-war equilibrium in central Europe. By pressing on the West's militarily exposed nerve in Berlin, the Soviets have in fact raised in urgent form the closely related, more general problems of a European settlement. Without the reunification of Germany in freedom no such settlement nor any real solution of West Berlin can be found. I doubt that the Soviets are yet ready for any such general settlement on terms the West can accept. I am notwithstanding convinced that we must make another effort in this direction as part of the process of dealing with the Berlin situation.

"This, I think, means moving towards a conference with the Soviets. Providing the firmness of the Western Allies remains

DECLASSIFIED

evident, such a conference would provide the Soviets with a certain protective coloration under which they might withdraw from the dangerous position Khrushchev has taken on Western Berlin. I believe you will concur that it is unlikely the Soviets will postpone their announced plans in Berlin unless provided with some such face-saving camouflage. If, on the other hand, the Soviets will not withdraw, then a conference will demonstrate to our own peoples how faithfully we sought a peaceful solution before facing the grave risk of a resort to force to maintain our position in West Berlin.

"I agree with you, of course, that the draft of a so-called peace treaty attached to the Soviet note of January is not acceptable. Incidentally, one fairly clear impression we did receive from Mikoyan was that, if we did not get involved in some sort of discussion, the Soviets and their satellites would proceed with the signing of a peace treaty with the Pankow regime.

"This is another factor which makes clear that we cannot merely reject the Soviet proposal and expect them to come up with a more acceptable one. I do not think this would be either realistic or tactically sound. We would wish to avoid too much delay in getting the Soviets around a table.

"Under these circumstances, flexibility as to the agenda of such a conference would be to our advantage. We might simply say to the Soviets that it would be fruitless for either side to attempt to dictate the agenda for discussions on a subject as broad as Germany. Accordingly, we might suggest that the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers meet at Geneva in mid-April to discuss "The Question of Germany". We might further suggest something along the lines of the arrangements made at Geneva for consultation with other interested parties. In all the preparations

DECLASSIFIED

of our position we naturally want to work closely with your representatives. However, we do not have much time, and we have welcomed the general willingness to arrange the early assembly of a four power working group in Washington to serve as focal point for an exchange of views on both tactics and substances. Its first task I suggest should be to prepare a draft reply to the Soviet note of January 10. I would visualize this reply as confined essentially to the procedural proposal which I have suggested above.

"We have been in touch with your Foreign Office, as well as with the British and French, to suggest that such a four power working group meet in Washington at the beginning of February, and I would hope our reply to the Soviet note could go forward before the middle of February.

"As to the content of the Western position, I am persuaded that the West would have much to gain if we could in some fashion take advantage of the great asset which the Federal Republic has in the fact that political ideals and conditions of freedom in the West attract an overwhelming percentage of the population of the Soviet Zone. We have, as you, urged that your Government give some thought as to how we might take advantage of this fact in any discussions with the Soviets, and we are attempting to come up with some ideas on our part. If it is convenient, I would be willing, perhaps next week, to visit you in Bonn and, away from the pressure of other problems, discuss these questions with you and Herr von Brentano in the light of the developing situation. I would probably stop briefly at London and Paris en route.

"I suspect you will not be surprised that Mikoyan was less than complimentary in some of his references, publicly and privately, to you personally and to some of your colleagues. One of his efforts -- and a spectacularly unsuccessful one -- was to

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

seek to drive a wedge between us.

Faithfully yours,

Foster Dulles."

I took the letter to the Chancellor before lunch and found him delighted with the prospect of a Dulles visit here.

At 6:30 the Rod and Gun Club gave a party for those German hosts who had afforded them fishing and shooting privileges in 1958. The 30 Germans, almost all farmers, were an impressive looking lot and have been generous beyond words to our people.

At 8:30 E and I, myself in white tie and tails, went to the Stadthalle for a concert and reception in honor of President Heuss who will be 75 tomorrow. The Diplomatic Corps filed past him, shaking hands, then we joined eight or nine hundred other guests in the large assembly room. There was an excellent hour-long concert. Selections from Mozart, Bach and Handel were played and a couple of arias sung. The guests then devastated the huge buffet supper; at 11:40 the President retired.

Saturday, January 31, 1959

Gaston Coblentz came to see me this morning at the office.

I had a stag lunch at home for Axel Springer, his special assistant Adam Vollhardt, and Hans Zehrer, Editor in Chief of

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Die Welt. We talked for three hours and it was interesting. Springer has moved a long way, since I first knew him, toward acceptance of some of the Chancellor's foreign policies. He is going to the United States the latter part of February and will see a great many people there. I think his judgment unsound in respect to co-existence with the Soviet Union. He feels they might well make a comprehensive deal on East Germany because of fear of an uprising there of the Hungarian type.

This evening there was a farewell reception for the Trimbles at the Embassy Club.

The spell of good weather was at last broken this morning. It was damp and foggy. We had until now enjoyed a remarkable run of sunny days whereas, according to a recent British visitor, England has been shrouded in one of the worse foggy spells of its history.

Sunday, February 1, 1959

Telegrams from Washington today were uninteresting. There is great speculation over what Secretary Dulles may do on his visit. It was announced last night in Washington, and since then the correspondents have been on the prowl.

Beautiful sunny day, temperature about freezing.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Monday, February 2, 1959

I received a message this morning from Dillon requesting me to see the Chancellor and make rather threatening representations about the German coal legislation. Old Boreas - John L. Lewis - must have been blowing some icy blasts down State Department necks. Having talked so much to the Chancellor about coal, and knowing what a hot subject it is in domestic politics here, all parties being united in favor of the legislation, I am not hopeful of the results of further intervention.

We have about finished with the Krupp affair; a Mixed Commission is to be set up, of which Spencer Phenix will be the American member. Meanwhile, the High Authority has authorized Krupp to purchase a large steel plant, and the question of deconcentration has become more or less academic.

Ed Myers brought in Professor Dr. Helmut Viebrock, Rector of the University in Frankfurt, to see me this morning. He is director of the English seminar, and his specialty is Shakespeare. He talked of the difficulty of operating a university with 8000 students when there is lodging for only 5 per cent of them. Their library building was totally destroyed during the war and their valuable collection of books is stored under conditions where they are rapidly deteriorating.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

This afternoon Ed Hughes of Time-Life brought in his successor, John Mecklin. Bayard Stockton accomplished a similar task on behalf of Newsweek by introducing Peter Webb.

Tuesday, February 3, 1959

Laurie Norstad called me this morning about the U. S. military convoy which has been detained since one o'clock yesterday by the Soviets on the approaches to Berlin after the refusal of its commander to allow inspection of the vehicles. He said he would send me a telegram embodying a recommendation he was making to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This did not arrive until afternoon, and meanwhile there had been remonstrances made by USAREUR and the Berlin Mission.

Also, we received word today of the intention of the East German Red Cross to deliver Lt. Mackin at the border on Thursday to the American Red Cross.

I went to call this morning on the Burmese Minister, Myat Tun, and afterwards on the Norwegian Ambassador, Vogt.

At 12:30 I visited the Chancellor. One of the items I took up with him was covered by a telegram from Dillon, asking me to expostulate once more on the coal tariff and quota. I reported on this in the following telegram. (See page 71 following)

DECLASSIFIED

FORM 2 THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

ID
AMB
DCM

ECON
POL

- 71 -

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

PRECEDENCE

1541 3 FEB 59
52
CONTROL NUMBER

3 February 1959 4 PM
DATE

SEND TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 1667

TO DILLON FROM BRUCE

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

Dept:l 1676

I saw Chancellor this morning and conveyed instructions contained reftel. He said we had been thoroughly briefed by Erhard, Westrick, himself and others over long period on coal situation Germany. U.S. interest was financial and economic, his largely political. Intolerable conditions had arisen in Ruhr, always classical area of discontent. Communist influences increasingly effective there because of coal surpluses. Bitter attacks on him for not having earlier taken remedial steps. He was ready if necessary to explain policy to Secretary. I had impression Chancellor resented representations this subject again being made to him.

Concurrently Embassy officer had conversation with Westrick, reported separate telegram.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

DEPTEL 1676 CN 1654 Jan 31 CONF

DISTRIBUTION
AMB
DCM
POL
ECON

AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

52

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections made on this original must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-681 (Jul 57)

DECLASSIFIED

Dr. Adenauer was in great form, and we agreed quickly on arrangements for the Secretary's visit. He then said he wanted to talk to me as a friend and not as an Ambassador and express certain views. He found the recent Senator Fulbright statement on a more flexible policy in regard to German affairs disturbing, as well as remarks on the same subject by Senator Mansfield. He is aware of Fulbright's dislike of Dulles and lack of confidence in him, and believes this will make the Secretary 's position much more difficult than it was when Senator Green was Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. He had met Bill Fulbright some years ago and been favorably impressed by his intellect. He thought it would be useful if he could have a talk with him and asked if I could not get him over here. I told him I would be [redacted] glad to have Fulbright stay with me, but doubted he could leave his Congressional duties to make such a trip before early summer.

Adenauer also said he was anxious to have a talk with Lippmann. I told him his wish could be easily gratified as I understood Lippmann was coming here in March and hoped to see him.

He then spoke of the strong political positions held by himself and de Gaulle in contrast to those of Eisenhower and Macmillan. De Gaulle and himself had complete control over their Parliaments and could command majorities for their foreign policies. This was

(Page 72a follows)

DECLASSIFIED

not necessarily true of Eisenhower. Macmillan's case was slightly different for, although he had a parliamentary majority, he is now so intent upon his election schemes he is likely to wobble. In his own case, the Chancellor said, recent polls have shown the CDU to have gained in p ularity since the last elections and, if there could be an election at this time, he would b sure of obtaining a majority of more than 50 per cent of the CDU/CSU.

He had just received a letter from Anthony Eden written from Mexico, in which Eden stated he would probably never return to political life. I remarked I had heard Eden was in the course of writing his memoirs. The Chancellor thought that inadvisable and said he had himself never kept notes on which memoirs could be based, and did not expect ever to record his own experiences unless it might be in respect to certain limited episodes.

We somehow got off on the subject of newspapers. He warned me that the Frankfurter Allgemeine, in which an editorial displeasing to him had appeared this morning, should not be regarded as a governmental mouthpiece. I told him of my recent conversation with Springer. Adenauer thought he ought to see him again, for, although he considered Springer's political judgment poor, he had great press influence. He believes Springer is more intent on making large sums of money than on anything else. I told him I had the impression he

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

also coveted power. The Chancellor considered the two desires were not incompatible.

We passed on to "confederation". He thinks this a ridiculous notion.

In conclusion, I showed him an article from last night's Le Monde written by André Fontaine. Part of it ran, "Personal relations between Adenauer, Bruce are rather tense, and it is mostly to ease them that Dulles decided to cross Atlantic." The Chancellor had a great cackle over this and said he was unaware that I was angry with him. He cracked a few more jokes and off I went.

I was in time to see the Trimbles depart from Mehlem station, Nancy in tears. They have had a series of parties given for them, and every kind of expression of goodwill, including a framed photograph from the Chancellor. Cambodia seems to be threatened with a Communist revolution, and I think it will be [redacted] valuable to have Bill there. These partings are always [redacted] sad.

The Rod and Gun Club members [redacted] kindly showed a film for me of quail and turkey shooting in Florida. It was a beautiful production done in color by the Remington Arms Company. It filled me with nostalgia to see the pointers operating. I do not think there is a more beautiful sight in the world.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

I talked on the telephone several times to Findley Burns in Berlin before and after dinner. The convoy is still stuck at the checkpoint.

Hillenbrand called me from the Department, and I gave him our views on the Norstad suggestion of a note to Moscow regarding the convoy. I followed this up with a telegram advocating a postponement of any such note until tomorrow morning.

Van Scherpenberg called me tonight at home to say the Chancellor [redacted] told him to inform me of having this afternoon received a visit from Kit Steel, in the course of which the British Ambassador gave him a letter from Prime Minister Macmillan. The letter told the Chancellor of Macmillan's intention to go to Moscow with Selwyn Lloyd about February 20 for a visit of 7 to 10 days. The Germans were evidently consternated by this proposal. It will be interesting to know whether we and other allies had been consulted on this subject. If not, this is a grave decision for the British Government to have made. They have always been [redacted] insistent upon prior consultation as far as any actions of ours are concerned, although they themselves, as in the case of Suez, do not always accord us reciprocal treatment.

Katherine Sansom arrived this afternoon from London, and it was a delight to see her again.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

A six-months old puppy, Hugo, also made his appearance this evening. An Air Force Sergeant [redacted] kindly brought him up by car from Switzerland. As I [redacted] predicted, the puppy was sick several times during the trip, but was [redacted] hale when I saw him. He is a beauty, coal black, [redacted] friendly. Between little Pogo, Hugo and the four spaniels, there is a cacophony of dog voices in the house and garden at all hours of the day, starting about 7 a.m. Fortunately, at night they are too exhausted to bark any more.

Wednesday, February 4, 1959

I went, on van Scherpenberg's invitation, to his office at 9:15 this morning. He recounted his conversations in London last week with members of the Foreign Office. I was already familiar with them through the complete reports we have received from our Embassy there.

He told me the Chancellor was concerned over the implications of the proposed Macmillan visit to Moscow and the fact there appeared to have been no prior consultation with the allies concerning it.

In the multitudinous correspondence flowing across my desk, all sorts of oddities appear. I had a letter this morning from Senator Olin Johnston of South Carolina enclosing a request from one of his constituents to be cut in on the business of moving German

DECLASSIFIED

World War II dead buried in 174 different places in Greece to two central cemeteries there. This enterprising South Carolinian had seen a clipping referring to such plans. He is in the cheery business of disinterring corpses and relocating them.

Livie Merchant called me on the phone from London about arrangements for the Secretary's trip here, and also to inquire whether there was anything new regarding the arrested convoy. I had just talked to Burns in Berlin. The trucks are still immobile, and Burns is meeting his Soviet counterpart at 4:30 at the checkpoint.

John Sinclair brought in Dr. Frauchiger, head of the German Language School at Frankfurt, and Dr. William Van Buskirk, who is to be a Regional Language Supervisor. They are [redacted] keen about their school and are both [redacted] German scholars.

Jean Monnet called from The Hague tonight to arrange for us to meet some time about February 15.

The Ed Hughes' came to cocktails to say goodby. They are leaving tomorrow.

E went to the Ceylonese National Day reception, but I could not get off.

Katherine [redacted]som, E and I went to dinner tonight at the Japanese Embassy. It was a party of six in addition to the

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Ambassador and his wife, there being an agreeable member of his staff who has just arrived. The Ambassadress paints well, and many of her pictures were on the walls.

It was really a meal to remember, everything served Japanese fashion on little lacquer trays. Quantities of shellfish, chop sticks, soup, tea, and warm saki with an individual decanter at each place. Mosel, Bordeaux and Champagne were additions for Western tastes. We sat late and talked about politics. They are a delightful couple.

I happened today to be reading a book about the Kamikaze spirit amongst the suicidally inclined Japanese aviators. One flying petty officer, about to die, wrote to his parents predicting his death and saying, "I shall fall like a blossom from a radiant cherry tree."

Thursday, February 5, 1959

Shep Stone came to see me this morning. We discussed German problems and, I think, are in full agreement on the course the Western nations should follow. Like myself, he feels the Soviets are not afraid of an internal revolt in East Germany and will only loose their grip on that territory if given concessions that might wreck the Western position and make the Federal Republic an eventual prey to Communism. The important thing is, in a conference or conferences, to try to determine whether it might be possible to make a satisfactory

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

bargain with the Soviets.

Last night Findley Burns called me from Berlin to say our convoy had been released and was proceeding into West Germany. He is entitled to great credit for his part in bringing this about.

I have lately been reading some of the essays of Hilaire Belloc. He wrote well on a wide variety of subjects. Once, when reproached for his enormous output, he said it was because his children were always demanding of him pearls and caviar. There was a quotation somewhere in the book from Gilbert Chesterton who said, "It is good to suffer fools gladly but better to enjoy them tremendously."

Col. Glass came up from USAREUR, Heidelberg, this morning to brief me on military planning in connection with access to Berlin. He, Bill Tyler, Dennie Flinn and I lunched together. It was an admirable briefing, clear and pointed.

The weather remains superb, as it was yesterday.

I went this afternoon to call on Minister of the Interior Schroeder and took up with him the question of the Valka and Zirndorf refugee camps. Afterwards we had a long talk about Berlin and German foreign policy. He has been frequently mentioned as a possible successor to von Brentano as Foreign Minister, and even to Adenauer as Chancellor. My newspaper friends tell me he is extremely ambitious and thinks he has a fair chance to become

DECLASSIFIED

Chancellor. He is a good looking, agreeable man and quite conversable.

Later I met with members of the Political Section to go over papers for possible submission to the Secretary upon his arrival here.

Tonight we had the Altschulls and Katherine Sansom for dinner.

Friday, February 6, 1959

Unusually clear but cold, with frost remaining on the ground all day. Mosie and Jody have ganged up on the newly arrived Hugo and are making life miserable for him. I think it springs largely from jealousy.

Sherman Kent and a group from CIA, responsible for drawing up National Estimates, came to see me this morning, and we had a long conversation on German policy.

Wellington Long of UP came to see me later, and German policy was again the subject of discussion.

Henry Tasca and I conferred on the composition of the Mixed Commission for the Krupp deconcentration case. We would like to have Spencer Phenix as the American representative.

Gaston Coblentz called this afternoon. He has just returned from a trip to Helmstedt to cover the convoy affair.

M/Sgt. Joseph Schmidt, who had kindly brought Hugo up from

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Switzerland in his car, came in. He is a dog lover, otherwise I think he would have been rightly indignant about his passenger's conduct. The poor puppy was ill for a couple of hours without stopping.

Walter Radius and I discussed Berlin air corridor matters.

Tonight we had a dinner for the Ambassadors of Cuba and Norway and their wives, State Secretary and Mrs. Hans Globke, Prince and Princess Otto von Bismarck, Ambassador and Mrs. Sigismund von Braun, Count Balestrem, Baron and Baroness Mumm, General and Mrs. Thatcher, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Pleasants, Rebecca Wellington, Maya de Montaudouin and Al Wells.

Saturday, February 7, 1959

The Secretary and Janet Dulles grounded promptly at noon, as expected, at Wahn Airport. Livie Merchant, Martin Hillenbrand, Andy Berding, Jerry Green, Phyllis Bernau, Miss Morris and others were in his party. The Chancellor had come to meet him, and they drove together to our house in Bad Godesberg where the Dulleses, as well as Jerry and Phyllis, are staying with us.

Foster looked in good health. His complexion was ruddy, although he appeared thinner than when I last saw him. He is on a rigid diet and limited to bland foods like oatmeal and rice. He said he had little appetite, and no desire to drink even his favorite

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Overholt whisky.

After he [redacted] lunched in bed, I had a private talk with him. He told me he had lately developed a hernia, as a result of his colonic disturbances, and believed he would have to be operated on soon after his return to Washington. Meanwhile, the intestinal condition, by which he has been plagued for [redacted] months, has not completely cleared up, and while in London and Paris he ran a fever. He finds it necessary to wear a truss; this is irksome and he is never really comfortable nowadays unless lying flat on his back.

None of this was said in a self-pitying manner, but simply as a statement of facts. One would never suspect from his bearing that he was suffering the least discomfort.

The Chief of Protocol, von Braun, came to fetch us, and we arrived at the Palais Schaumburg at four o'clock. Foster, Livie and myself went into the Chancellor's office for a private meeting with von Brentano and himself, Weber acting as interpreter. The Chancellor started immediately on the proposed Macmillan trip to Moscow, saying it had, of course, to be accepted as a fait accompli, but he had serious apprehensions as to its consequences. He referred to notes covering a conversation with Kit Steel at the time the latter delivered Macmillan's letter on the subject. Steel had, in effect,

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

remarked on the ultimate necessity of negotiations between the GDR and Federal Republic and recognition of the GDR. Since Adenauer considered Steel a thoroughly trained and loyal diplomat, he could not but think he was faithfully expressing views held by his Foreign Office. The Chancellor thought he would write to Macmillan and ask for an explanation.

Dulles told him that President Eisenhower and himself both were skeptical over the potential usefulness of Macmillan's visit to the Soviet Union, and fearful of even his most carefully guarded comments being misconstrued. However, there was nothing to be done about it, and one must hope for the best. The Chancellor thought the primary motive of the trip was to gather prestige for domestic election application in England.

Foster outlined the substance of his talks in London and Paris, where he had emphasized the firmness of the American position on Berlin.

Not much else of importance came up at this meeting, and we went into an adjacent room to join our associates and the other Germans. On our side, in addition to the Secretary, Merchant and myself, were Hillenbrand, Berding, Tyler and Klein. On the other were Adenauer, von Brentano, van Scherpenberg, von Eckardt, Dittmann, Globke, von Braun and a note-taker. There was a general survey conducted by the Secretary, the Chancellor and von Brentano.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

After a couple of hours we went home; [redacted] Foster had dinner in bed before dictating telegrams and memoranda. It must have been an arduous and physically painful afternoon for him, but there were no visible signs of this.

The day was clear and sunny.

Sunday, February 8, 1959

We were back at the Palais Schaumburg at 10:30 this morning. Again we had a private meeting in the Chancellor's office. He raised several points, the chief of which were the need for Allied unity and his opposition to the use of nuclear arms in any emergency arising out of the Berlin situation. The second point was unexpected and surprising. Dulles demolished the unreality of it in a clear and, I thought, devastating statement. He said the West was in a position of great inferiority vis-a-vis the Soviets as regards conventional armaments, but had superiority in the nuclear field. If we convince the Soviets of our readiness, as a last resort, to engage in general war in defense of our rights, this stand is far more likely to maintain peace than would be the case if we showed ourselves weak and vacillating. The Secretary discussed in this connection various military plans for dealing, on a step by step basis, with obstruction to our access to Berlin. Adenauer pronounced himself satisfied and in accordance with such a program.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

We filtered into the next room, where the conversation was rather general, before we broke up at 12:30. In the course of interchanges, the Chancellor referred to a recent talk with me during which I had suggested it might be worthwhile to consider at the end of a four-power Foreign Ministers' Conference continuing debate at a deputy level. The Chancellor thought this a [redacted] good idea, and asked the Secretary to consider it.

Foster and most of his group had lunch with us. This time he came downstairs and was in fine spirits. The Chancellor motored out to the airport with him and, as before, I rode with van Scherpenberg, who is still nettled by not having been told during his recent trip to London of Macmillan's plans for a visit to the Soviet Union. After microphone business at the airport, the MATS plane took off at 3:30.

Back in Bad Godesberg I saw, in succession, the Italian, French and British Ambassadors. The Italian, Quaroni, had been told by the Foreign Office he must meet the Secretary and find out what [redacted] occurred during his talks with the Chancellor. Since this was impracticable, it was agreed I should summarize them for the Italians, as well as for the two others. I used the following talking paper.

"1. Broad exchange of views on world-wide Soviet intentions, with basic agreement.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

"2. The Chancellor stressed the danger of the Soviet offensive designed (a) to isolate Germany; (b) to take over the Western European (as well as the German) economic and manpower potential.

"3. The Chancellor emphasized his dislike of anything which might lead to the isolation or neutralization of Germany.

"4. Confirmation of the necessity of making clear to public opinion the agreed firm position on Berlin reached in Paris in December: not to accept relinquishment by the Soviets of their obligations, including right of access.

"5. Review and close outline of the progress of the four-power working group in Washington, which is drawing up a reply to the Soviet note of January 10th, prior to consultation within NATO.

"6. Discussion of possible Foreign Ministers' meeting with the Soviets and procedures under which the four Western powers would concert their positions as between themselves and within NATO.

"7. No concessions without equivalent counter-concessions."

Tonight in Bonn, and all over the Rhineland, there are tremendous Fasching celebrations. They will culminate tomorrow and Tuesday (Rose Monday and Shrove Tuesday). The Rhinelanders go quite mad during these occasions and release the emotional energies and libidos pent up during the rest of the year.

We took the train for Berlin this evening. Again it [redacted] was a sunny day, with heavy fog in the morning.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Monday, February 9, 1959

The Tylers are staying with us, and we brought along Mosie, Milou and Jody. Jody is to be given to the Findley Burns.

At the office I received word of Bill Donovan's death yesterday, and sent off to the New York Times a letter about him (see pages 87-89).

I had conversations with Ham, Guf and others and did a little shopping. The weather is wonderfully clear and sunny.

During the afternoon, I attended the Richtfest of the housing development for the Free University of Berlin, [illegible]fford quarters for 600 students, largely financed through U. S. Government funds. The curator of the University, the Buergermeister of Zehlendorf, and other officials were there. This German custom is practiced when the roof has been thrown over a building. The curator made a speech. A representative of the students did likewise, and all the workmen congregated with us to listen to them. At the end, the foreman of the construction people appeared, in a white smock and a bowler hat, on the roof of the most prominent building, from which he delivered, through a microphone, a long, rhyming and humorous discourse. Afterwards, he gulped down - it seemed in one swallow - a large glass of white liquid and followed this by breaking the glass. Meanwhile, a lot of greenery in the form of a bell had been raised behind him. The only other ornamentation was a display of the U. S., German, City of Berlin, and Free University flags.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

United States Mission Berlin,
Berlin-Dahlem, Germany,
February 9, 1959.

The Editor,
The New York Times,
Times Square,
New York, N. Y.

Sir:

The news of Bill Donovan's death is a profound shock to all of his associates, friends, and acquaintances. It hardly seems possible that this ageless man, this almost elemental force of nature, has been removed from our immediate contact. Wherever there was a stir, and especially whenever--all too frequently--trouble brewed, Donovan was there. He was an adventurer, in the best sense of the word, in the modern world. What his views were on art, literature, and music I do not know; no doubt his insatiable curiosity encompassed such subjects as easily as it did matters of military strategy, international politics, the proper coaching of a football team, the conduct of an intricate law case, a new fashion in feminine dress, an involved psychiatric problem, a crime, a romance, or whatever else was not alien to human interest.

Imagination and the quality of great leadership were his dominant characteristics. The word "impossible" was not in his lexicon. What man had done was only a springboard from which to vault into the unknown.

I was most closely familiar with him during more than four years' service in his OSS organization. There, he was the inspirer of more than thirty thousand people. All were fish in his net. Ornithologists, anthropologists, college professors of every category, safe-crackers, paroled convicts, remittance men, professional wrestlers and boxers, circus stars, code experts, military characters, night club frequenters, and a miscellany of others, including in the majority ordinary citizens, were jumbled together in what, organizationally, appeared to be chaos.

His mandate was almost unlimited in the field of clandestine activities. Nor did any chief ever as readily respond to such a challenge.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Something had to knit together beings so disparate, recruited for tasks so indefinite. The polarization came from one individual - Donovan. In the midst of the gravest preoccupations, with a task so comprehensive as, at times, to appall his subordinates, the General remained unruffled, calm to deal with the exigencies of world-wide covert operations, but able to turn what seemed an equal concentration on the marital, or extra-marital, problems, the health or illness, the financial tribulations, or any other concerns of those who worked for him.

He contracted enmities, but never as readily as he made friends. Giving complete loyalty himself, he commanded it from others. "His country right or wrong" was his primary impulse, but his "boys" right or wrong came second in his reckoning. His "boys" were often white haired, and fully capable, except when under his spell, of independent action, which sometimes engendered difficulties.

He taxed his brain and body without mercy. In his sixties, he was still a threatening opponent on a squash court. Sleep he scarcely considered a necessity, but an imposition by Nature on man's obligation for self-improvement. For him no moment was an occasion for idleness. On uncomfortable and dangerous airplane flights, he was usually discovered amusing himself with a German, French, Spanish, Italian or other grammar, unless he was concocting a complicated scheme to harass the enemy.

His personal charm was disarming. His sympathies were almost universal. He could not abide cowardice, being so constituted that this weakness was incomprehensible to him. Nor did he give other than short shrift to falsehood. He was an odd disciplinarian, in that if one violated a settled military rule one might be praised or blamed for it according to the result of the transgression.

Very occasionally he took a glass of wine or beer, but never used hard liquor or tobacco. However, he had no police instinct regarding the habits of others, provided they did not interfere with the accomplishment of their tasks.

His imagination was unlimited. Ideas were his plaything. Excitement made him snort like a race horse. Woe to the officer who turned down a project because, on its face, it seemed ridiculous, or at least unusual. For painful weeks, under his command, I tested the possibility of using bats - taken from concentrations in western caves - to destroy Tokyo. The General, backed by the intrigued President Roosevelt, was only dissuaded from further experiments in this field when it appeared probable that the cave bats would not survive a trans-Pacific flight at high altitudes.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Reminiscences about Donovan could be expanded almost indefinitely. Nobody ever met him without realizing he was confronted by a most unusual and significant personality.

He was a torchbearer of much that was most luminous in American participation in wars. In civil life, he was adamant in the protection of our liberties and traditions.

I feel I can speak for thousands of others who served him during his great period in saying that I wish we had adequately conveyed to him during his lifetime the deep affection and admiration we always entertained for him.

David K. E. Bruce

Berlin, Germany

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Tuesday, February 10, 1959

Clear and sunny.

Seymour Topping came to see me this morning. He says he is now almost embarrassed by the attention paid him by local Soviet officials, including luncheons, dinners and visits. We had an interesting talk. He thinks the Soviets have no intention whatever of releasing their hold in East Germany except in return for an almost complete capitulation by the West, calculated to lead to the domination of the Federal Republic by the Communists.

This afternoon, the Tylers, ourselves and Mrs. Vreeland motored over to the Pergamon Museum in East Berlin. It has lately been re-opened and, although the objects are poorly displayed, it was a great pleasure to see the magnificent Roman and Greek sculpture, some of it badly damaged during the war, again in place. There was no indication as to how much has been returned by the Soviets, but, with supreme impudence, a large banner was displayed on the museum front, reading: "These treasures of world art were saved by the Soviet Union."

We heard today of the defection of another East Berlin museum director to the West. This makes five museum and library officials who have defected in the last month.

Tonight, we sent a telegram to the Department concerning a possible change in instructions to our military in the event of a

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

turnover of the control points by the Soviets to the GDR (see pages 92-93).

I notice the Berlin press has a leak on the request made by Federal Republic opposition leaders for an interview with the Secretary while he was in Bonn. Aside from there being no time for this, we had, in the Embassy, been unanimously opposed to his complying with the request. However, the papers said the move was [redacted] supported by American diplomats but disapproved by the Federal Republic.

Clear, sunny. Still snow on the frozen ground, but none has fallen since we have been here.

News came tonight of Foster's asking the President for a leave of several weeks. He will have a hernia operation on Friday or Monday. While he is absent, Chris Herter will be Acting Secretary.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Wednesday, February 11, 1959

Sunny. Freezing.

I met with members of the Econom. Section. They reported a small deterioration, as contrasted with the pre-Khrushchev-threat-to-Berlin, in bank deposits and other indices of economic activity in West Berlin. Oddly enough, the warehousing and trucking companies have said there has been no increase in the normal rate of shipments of household furnishings to the West. The East Mark has gained about 15% in exchange value against the West Mark, probably due to the withdrawal by inhabitants of the East Zone of balances held in their West Berlin accounts. The rate of investment in new enterprises remains constant. However, Berlin stock exchange prices have fallen 15%, while those in the West have slightly increased since the end of November. Altogether, the attitude of the Berliners to date is a demonstration of their toughness and determination to carry on business as usual, relying on Uncle Sam to protect their freedom. If we should weaken, I surmise there would be a frightening exodus from this city.

We lunched pleasantly at the Findley Burns house, where Jody has already made herself thoroughly at home.

John Rich spent an hour with me this afternoon, as later did Sydney Gruson. I enjoy immensely talking to these well-informed

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

journalists.

E had thirty of the Mission ladies for tea.

We dined tonight at the Guflers' with Mayor and Mrs. Franz Amrehn, Senator and Mrs. Joachim Lipschitz, Mr. F. G. Tomlinson (Deputy Commandant, British Military Government), Frau Dr. Margarete Rühn, Frau Susanne Suhr, Frau Dr. M. E. Lüders (Senior member of the Bundestag), Herr Maximilian Müller-Jabusch (Chief Editor of Der Abend), and Rebecca Wellington.

I had a long conversation with Frau Suhr before dinner, and with Frau Dr. Lüders at dinner. The latter was a member of the old Reichstag, and is now at the age of 80 an active representative in the Bundestag. She is full of fire, and I would suppose is a fine character. Afterwards, seated between Amrehn and Lipschitz, I was plunged into hours of discussion over the Berlin and all German problems. Such talks are perhaps useful, but after threshing around almost interminably, I can not discover anywhere amongst intelligent German leaders any real optimism over the possibility of the Soviets permitting solutions to be reached on terms the West could safely accept. Most of them feel the Allies must display flexibility, but make no real concessions, since none are expected from the Soviets. I believe the manner of our approach to these matters is most important, as will be the style in which we conduct negotiations. Make no written

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

counter-proposals, but engage in debate without limit, seeking to sound the depths of the adversary's thought.

Thursday, February 12, 1959

My birthday. I should like to forget it is my 61st. Mayor Amrehn and the Senat sent me flowers, and I received congratulatory instead of commiserating messages. E gave me a magnificent, recumbent, multi-colored porcelain cat. A light snow is falling.

I went over the hospital program. It is falling into shape. Generals Eddelman, Hamlett and d'Orsa congregated in my office. This afternoon Eddelman's designation as Hank Hodes' successor, upon his retirement March 31, will be announced. I have heard nothing but good of him. It seems he is favored by General Maxwell Taylor.

Khrushchev is still making belligerent announcements, denouncing Ike as a "dealer in blood" while inviting him to visit Moscow. Some one quoted to me this morning as an example of Khrushchev imagery his statement that the day he relinquished his efforts to bring about world Communism would be the day "the shrimp is heard to whistle on the mountaintop."

Hamlett wanted concurrence in plans to take certain action in regard to military traffic, and in respect to secret proposals for readiness against riots or attacks. I am in accord with them, and

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

he will make his recommendations to his military superiors.

E and I lunched with the Chief of the Luxembourg Military Mission in Berlin, alias our friend Majerus, Luxembourg Ambassador in Bonn. Like diplomatic representatives of several European countries, when he comes to Berlin he takes on military status. His house is a large, old-fashioned affair, with an extensive garden, in the Charlottenberg quarter. We had a gay meal, with lobster and other delicious food, and a company of about 20, mostly French, Luxembourg and Belgan, as well as General and Mrs. Rome. The Majerus couple is [redacted] sympathetic.

Upon returning to the office, I found Herb Thatcher waiting for me. He had tried to fly up at midnight from Wahn but fog had prevented his take-off. He had with him a batch of Top Secrets on atomic matters; [redacted] after we had dealt with them he went back to Bad Godesberg.

Tonight, we dined at the Hamletts, in honor of General Eddelman. There were about 50 people there, and it was fun. Eddelman was congratulated, Colonel Harris had just received a star, a young Colonel and myself were birthday specimens, so there was lots of toasting.

Friday, February 13, 1959

The Tylers and ourselves went this morning to see Jagdschloss

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

in the Grunewald. It was first built about the 14th century as a hunting lodge and renovated in the early part of the 17th century for use by the Hollenzollerns. It is stark and awkward architecturally but in a wonderful position, with the lake at its back and [redacted] fine stables and lodgings for hounds. Apparently it continued to be used by the Kaisers until about 1900 and is now a museum. The first floor is devoted to the exhibition of hunting and animal pictures, many of which are quaint and interesting.

At the office, I dispatched a good deal of business and spent a good part of the afternoon in conversation with Stindt of NBC, Seymour Topping, and a [redacted] nice Congressman from Gastonia, North Carolina. Meanwhile, E had a tea for about 35 of the Mission ladies at the house.

Tonight Rebecca Wellington and the Tylers took Mrs. Gufler, Sr., the Guflers and ourselves to dinner at Schlichters Restaurant, one of the culinary landmarks of old Berlin. We [redacted] went there often during the days of the Berlin Foreign Ministers' Conference, and the food is still thoroughly satisfying.

We left tonight for Mehlem.

Saturday, February 14, 1959

Hope and Frank Canfield were supposed to arrive this morning from Paris, but I received word they had to postpone their trip.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

This is a beautiful day. Went to the office and found much to do.

This evening, I paid a call on Kit Steel. We spoke, as I have done off and on all day, about the sad news from Washington of Foster Dulles again having cancer. This was disclosed as a result of examination of tissue and fluid after his operation for hernia. There is much speculation about his successor, but I think aspirants for that office are being premature in fixing their gaze on it. He is to be given deep X-ray therapy, and it is possible he will be able to return to his duties.

I worked tonight on a telegram to the Department.

Sunday, February 15, 1959

Another fine day. To the office this morning. This afternoon did a lot of home work and reading, then went with David and two of his Canadian friends for a long walk.

Bill Tyler came in after dinner with a telegram he has prepared on German problems for dispatch tomorrow (see pages 107-113).

Monday, February 16, 1959

I sent off the following telegram, which I had worked on over the weekend (see pages 100-106).

DECLASSIFIED

Form AE/GER-67
(AUG 57)

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO 100

284 16 FEB 59 476

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

16 February 1959 1PM
DATE

ACTION
AMB
INFO
DCM
POL
ECON
USIS
MAAG
CA

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 1779

RPT TO: AmEmbassy LONDON PRIORITY 425

AmEmbassy PARIS PRIORITY 594

AmEmbassy MOSCOW PRIORITY 207

USMission BERLIN PRIORITY 588

USREUR HEIDELBERG PRIORITY 432

PARIS PASS USCINCEUR, USRO, SHAPE

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION - NOFORN

FROM BRUCE

1. Back here, after five days in Berlin, have certain definite impressions. I think we must recognize Secretary's illness, if it results in any long inactivity, will have distinct impact FedRep foreign policy. Adenauer has felt that Dulles thinking closely parallels his own. Importance he has attached to personal interchanges Secretary must not be underestimated. There have been occasional Et Tu Brute episodes, but all short-lived. If Secretary does not attend conferences, we must expect more hesitations than in past, but fundamental loyalties will remain, especially if Pres Eisenhower and Secy from time to time send Chancellor reassuring personal messages.

2. Seems to me, U.S. policies regarding Berlin, and Germany generally, must be based on decision between two sharply conflicting

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

476 SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-68a
(Jul. 57)

Correction or INFORMATION COPY may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

schools of thought. One asserts Soviets are off balance because of fears uprisings, and other preoccupations relative to East Zone. Other believes Soviets, although uninfluenced by humanitarian, moral or spiritual considerations, are determined to preserve present domination East Zone, and corollary advantages, strategical, political and economic. I subscribe to latter interpretation. Psychological handicap having vast majority East German population opposed to an undisputed though brutal foreign rule probably does not ~~seriously~~ profoundly disconcert Soviets. Nor, I guess, are they deeply afraid of possible riots, revolution or other potential manifestations unrest. If outbreak occurs, they have physical means at their command to suppress it, as they did Hungary. They are likely be more apprehensive armament Bundeswehr with atomic weapons, not because of resultant FedRep military strength, but because chance aggressive Bundeswehr actions might involve Soviet Union in war on general scale.

Moreover, do Soviets need be overly solicitous pretentious East Zone political leaders to assert national sovereignty? Ulbricht, notably despised as he is by own compatriots, is faithful purveyor Kremlin doctrine. Better him, subservient to orders, than more independent Nationalists capable creating schism and popular following. To increase his prestige by transferring controls would seem tactically acceptable, but to sacrifice him for larger purposes would not, I believe, offend Soviet conscience. They can regurgitate dogma without lasting indigestion.

Therefore, our real adversary remains Soviet Union. If one adopts thesis its rulers in relationship to two Germanies, hold master cards as compared with our own, one must critically examine allegations West has failed diplomatically to achieve tolerable co-existence because of its own intransigence.

The Soviets have in East Germany a rich prize. Standard of living there is now probably higher than in Russia, and certainly superior to that in any other satellite country except maybe Czechoslovakia. Moreover, economic improvement East Germany can well continue to develop. Strategically, a portion of Europe, where troops by a mere about-turn can be poised to counter and subdue any adventure by reckless Poles or other satellites, must be considered a prime Soviet asset. Politically, if Soviets entertain genuine fears of a united Germany, its continued division must be welcomed by them, and I would surmise they would prefer for many reasons to have it permanent.

Various interpretations of Khrushchev's possible motivations are current. But fact remains it is almost incredible, unless there is something more unstable in his character and authority than it would be safe to rely upon, that he would lightly abandon advantages derived from complete control East Germany unless promised concessions the West could only make to own evident disadvantage. Truth is, we now enjoy almost minimal position of strength in Berlin in contrast Soviet posture.

Unless "Declassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

103

CHARGE TO

SECRET — 476

CLASSIFICATION — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

Existence of island of West Berlin, surrounded by hostile territory, results from political determination many years ago more remarkable for naivete than long-range judgment. There is no use wringing hands futilely over consequences, but let us not compound past error by repeating it through a hasty retreat from our remaining essential bastions. Exodus from West Berlin and concomitant chaos, if American garrison withdrawn, would, under present conditions, dwarf any other historical migration.

Flexibility as an end in itself appears to me singularly dangerous; it is not a policy; it can be an escape, above all when one has little to surrender except at the expense of one's own security.

Is it really wise to jeopardize our national security through lacking the patience and wisdom to maintain our principles in foreign policy? In negotiating with the Soviets, can one expect quickly to arrive at formulae which will reconcile the most seemingly irreconcilable conflict of political philosophies the world has ever known? What losses have we suffered during the last decade in Western and Central Europe? It is customary to concede that we have been defeated in the propaganda field. What is the objective of propaganda? Is it not to create conditions where one gains a national or international advantage over opposing forces? Do transient polls, reflecting the natural desire in Democracies for speedy and definitive resolutions of almost hopelessly complex questions, accurately reflect the ultimate national interest of the United States?

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office: Persons Name, and Telephone No.

476 SECRET

CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681 (Jul. 57)

Correction, if any, MUST be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Declassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(Aug. 52)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

104
- 5 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

476
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

I venture to doubt it.

3. During last ten years, what has actually occurred in Western and Central Europe? The firm stand taken by the Democracies has at least arrested, without territorial losses, the threat of Soviet take-over of these sympathetic and valuable populations. In Norway, France and Italy, for example, the power of indigenous Communist parties has sensibly diminished; the prestige, authority, efficiency and popularity of Governments openly opposed to Communism have increased. Does that not signify significant progress, more persuasive than criticism of the inefficiency of Western propaganda?

Let us admit that public opinion - always an undefinable, vague bogey - demands more flexibility in U.S. foreign policy in Europe. Must it be placated, at the expense of our fundamental interests, by yielding to demagogic appeals, and by embracing plans, often devised by amateur diplomatic architects, eager to build on ground they have not surveyed?

If we had much we could safely yield, our choices would be simpler. But in Germany, and above all in Berlin, we are on the defensive. It is not we who can probe, embarrass, irritate. Our position in Berlin represents the minimum we would desire. To give an inch might lead to surrendering all; Munich stares us in the face.

How can we resolutely cling to our principles, and yet not betray them by an appearance, at least, of flexibility?

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Person's Name, and Telephone No.

476 SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul. 52)

Corrections may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 57)

THE TOP LINE SHALL BE USED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

105

CHARGE TO

- 6 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

476
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

Perhaps, there is a method. We have often said that deeds and not words are the measure of good faith. In the past, we have sought agreement with the Soviets on reasonable agenda for conferences. We have rejected their insatiable and dangerous demands for accords at the expense of our survival. We have countered their suggestions by careful exposure of their fallacious reasoning and demands. But still we suffer and strain over the accusation of being inflexible.

Can we emerge from this trap into which we are said to have fallen without leaving not only our tail feathers but some of our vital organs behind? Must we sacrifice our principles - dictated by the most enlightened self-interest and common to all decent mankind - to appease the unenlightened reproach that we have not shown ourselves ready to capitalise upon assumed Soviet weakness?

The manner of negotiating may be, in public reflection, almost as important as the substance. Can we not advocate, indeed invite, debates without fixed agenda, battles royal with the Soviets, at every level, amongst Foreign Ministers, Deputies, technician- (excluding only Summit meetings unless so prepared as to make their success almost certain) which will, if the Soviets match our stamina, continue for months, even years? No longer should we reply in detail to Soviet notes, and bind ourselves through written counterproposals. Instead we should expose ourselves to the hazards of debate, ready to discuss any offers made by the other

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons' Name, and Telephone No.

476 SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(ALG-7)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

106
- 7 -

476

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

side, no matter how unreasonable.

At least by this process we might penetrate the mystery of Soviet political intentions, especially as they bear upon the fundamental decision "between two sharply conflicting schools of thought" referred to in Paragraph 2. There is no other way, except the one more likely to be productive, namely, bilateral conversations between our official representatives and those of the USSR.

4. Being power conscious, the Soviets have long made it manifest they would like to treat bilaterally with us. Faithful to our alliances, we have refused to do so. Prime Minister Macmillan has not been so scrupulous. Might we not, at some point, consider practicing the same technique? A trip, if practicable, by Secretary at an appropriate time to Moscow might yield interesting results.

If not, there still remains what I have already advocated; conferences without end, from which concord might finally evolve. If not, we would have lost little. The preparation of position papers has always absorbed more energy and talent than the shorter courses of international debate. And we could, if the presentation is adroit, lift ourselves out of the slough of inflexibility, and again struggle onto the high and defensible ground of principle.

Elaboration of some of the views expressed in this telegram, as well as additional comments to be read in conjunction with it, are contained in immediately following telegram prepared by EmbOff.

DISTRIBUTION

D.B.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce
AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

476

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-68
(Jul-57)

Corrections and Deletions may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Declassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

FS — AE/GER-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO POL 107

24 16 FEB 59
477

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

FEBRUARY 16, 1959
1PM
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 1780

RPTD INFO: AmEmbassy LONDON ~~ROUTINE~~ 426 PRIORITY

AmEmbassy PARIS ~~ROUTINE~~ 595 PRIORITY
PARIS PASS USCINCEUR, USRO, SHAPE

AmEmbassy MOSCOW ~~ROUTINE~~ 208 PRIORITY

USMission BERLIN ~~ROUTINE~~ 589 PRIORITY
USAREUR HEIDELBERG PRIORITY 433

L I M I T E D D I S T R I B U T I O N

NOFORN

ACTION
INFO
DCM
POL
ECON
USIS
MAAG
CA

While still on American soil, Mikoyan publicly attacked Adenauer and Strauss by name. He singled Adenauer out as major obstacle to peaceful settlement between Soviet Union and West, in Europe. He identified him with inflexibility, with implacable hostility not merely to Soviet Union but to any agreement. In so doing he was also attacking Secretary Dulles and attempting create gulf between these two statesman whose close personal relationship well known, and peoples of America and Western Europe whose yearning for peace could be satisfied, were it not for sinister collusion.

Personal attack Strauss related to attack Adenauer, and conjures up image renascent German militarism, and "furor Teutonicus", now barely held in check but liable emerge and break out again at any time and drag not merely Europe but whole humanity with it into apocalyptic holocaust.

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

477 SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jun 57)

Correct INFORMATION COPY may be made

Unless "Declassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-72
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

108

SECRET

CLASSIFICATION

CONTROL NUMBER

477

PRECEDENCE

-2-

DATE

Thus unholy association Dulles, Adenauer and Strauss, presented by Soviet leaders, not only prevents solution Europe's problems, but contains within itself seeds destruction in the future.

This may be said constitute major theme current Soviet political warfare, background against which Soviets formulating their tactical moves in period negotiation into which we seem be entering.

We believe it utmost importance be aware appeal which such theme likely have in coming months, unless West finds way educate public opinion so that goal Soviet policy as clear to man in street as technique by which Moscow hopes to reach it.

One of major trends in Western thinking recent months is illustrated by the extent to which public opinion now disposed take at face value expressed Soviet fears with regard Germany. Important we clarify our own thinking on this subject.

Generally agreed that Germany's role in Soviet eyes is of different order from that any other foreign power. Recollections of last war, of formidable industrial and manpower potential German people, and of political processes by which inoffensive Weimar Republic was suddenly transformed into reality Hitler's war machine, lend color and plausibility to fears this

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET

477

CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul) 57)

Correct INFORMATION COPY must be made

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AID/GER-72
(AUG 57)

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

109

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

477
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

-3-

DATE

may happen again, notwithstanding disapproval and lamentations Western governments, whose failure prevent this event 30 years ago seems suggest that they would again be powerless comparable circumstances. In Soviet political calendar next two or three years are no longer and no safer than time which elapsed between 1930 and 1933.

Easy for Soviet Union harp on these historical facts and evoke in minds peoples Western Europe who have also recently suffered so much from German aggression sympathetic response to basic thesis that Germany fundamentally still potential aggressor, which might in altered circumstances abuse weapons intended only for her defense, and embark once again on mad adventure. Assurances by West, expressed in most formal and binding international agreements, such as the North Atlantic Treaty, do not carry full conviction, because they relate only to present international situation. Such assurances provide no convincing guarantee that future course events will respect their present validity. With such arguments, Soviet Union can exert powerful influence on Western popular attitudes. In proportion as rearmament Germany passes from planning and training stage to physical completion, so fears and warnings for future uttered by Soviet Union gain in plausibility and in political effectiveness.

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

477 SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AID/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections or Additions CANNOT be made

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-72
(AUG 57)

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO 110

SECRET — 477

CLASSIFICATION — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

-4- — DATE

Would emphasize that we here concerned less with sincerity Soviet propaganda when it points signs "revanchist" Germany, than with degree plausibility which such accusations may achieve, and consequent effect Western popular thinking.

When we ask ourselves what Kremlin's real attitude is toward Germany, think we must accept fact that whether it sincerely believes in danger renewed German aggression or not, it will never renounce exploitation Western fears of militaristic resurgence Germany, for these fears are factor of great value to it in prosecution its long term policy: isolation and neutralization Germany, disintregation of Western defensive system, eviction US armed forces from European continent, and absorption Europe - in other words liquidation of the European front in world-wide Soviet campaign against United States.

This exploitation historical and emotional factors which militates in its favor takes specific form of warnings about consequences of the "nuclear rearming" Germany. Even though can be demonstrated that additional quota Western military strength represented by nuclear capability Western German NATO forces relatively marginal, Soviet Union can marshal powerful argument, which Khrushchev has already used, which is, in our opinion, far more difficult to counter: that such nuclear equipment "in German hands" vastly increases

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Person Name, and Telephone No.

477 SECRET

CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-68
(JUL 57)

Correction or INFORMATION COPIES must be made

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-11
(AUG 61)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

111

SECRET

CLASSIFICATION

477

CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

-5-

DATE

danger that if, one day, German policy rests in hands of a "revanchist" madman (i.e., type of German in whose role Soviet Union has cast Strauss), Germany will be in position create incident, independently of will of Western powers, which may prove uncontrollable and which will inevitably involve Soviet Union itself. In this hypothetical case, emphasis is laid on future irresponsibility and uncontrollability Germany, rather than on its role as an instrument of deliberate Western aggressiveness.

May be that this element in Soviet attitude toward the problem of Germany contains sufficient degree sincerity to justify most careful examination of possibility mutual concessions leading to stablization situation Central Europe, so long as we adhere firmly to principle that our own security position must not be weakened as result any concessions we may make, and so long as we continue assume that even stabilization situation in Europe would not signify that Soviet Union had given up its long-term goal of European domination, or the continuing exploitation of the means to reach it.

Vital importance adhering to basic principles our European policy underscores necessity our avoiding, particularly at this time, any course action, or posture, suggesting disposition compromise on these principles. This consideration prompts us express our concern at extent to which concept

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone Nos.

SECRET

CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMEMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO 112

SECRET — CLASSIFICATION

M 477 — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

-6-

flexibility by West seems to be acquiring overtones willingness by United States to abandon some of premises on which our policy has hitherto been based. It one thing retain our basic position and to cast about for ways presenting it more convincingly and attractively to public opinion in the West and elsewhere in the world. It quite another thing to hoist flag of flexibility as though it were kind of new rallying-point around which an entirely new strategy is to be planned. Flexibility in negotiating tactics, in willingness discuss all approaches to problem is desirable demonstration Western initiative. However we may already have reached point dangerously close to popular belief that West abandoning its former steadfastness, i.e.: its adherence to basic principles which have hitherto governed its policies in relation to Soviet Union and problem Europe. Widespread acceptance such belief would undermine Chancellor's authority Germany, and would represent substantial victory for Moscow.

If we enter conferences this spring against such background popular expectation, we may be later faced with unpleasant prospect disillusion in our own camp, and possible generation pressures which might drive some of Western governments to dangerous compromise.

May be we shall have, so to speak, to institutionalize international

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

M77 SECRET

CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-68
(JUL 57)

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO 113

477

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

-7-

DATE

conferences, to be prepared wage continuous war negotiation in public forum, at every level, with or without agenda or preparation (short of Summit meetings), and to outlast the Soviet Union at conference table.

Out of this process, at some stage when substance of discussion has been exhausted, possible there will emerge in West sense of necessity for bilateral discussions between ourselves and Soviet Union. Feel we should be prepared consider such an eventuality, for which the preceding trial by conference would have set the stage for us and our Allies.

BRUCE

AUTH - Ambassador Bruce

A 15

DISTRIBUTION

POL:WHZeiger:era 3117 2-16-59

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone Nos.

477 SECRET

CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-68
(Jul 57)

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections which are necessary should be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

Spencer Phenix came in this morning, and I went over with him a long paper on his uncertain status as a Judge. He is a United States member of the Arbitral Tribunal for the Agreement on German External Debts and Mixed Commission, but is at the same time a Foreign Service Reserve Officer. As a result, he falls between the two when he applies for any of the ordinary amenities extended by one or the other of the organizations to which he belongs. I am writing a letter on the subject to Livie Merchant.

I went to see the Chancellor at 12:30 to convey a message sent to me personally by Allen Dulles. He said Foster wants Adenauer assured that his failure to mention, during his last Bonn visit, the possibility of his having cancer, was due to the Secretary having no suspicion of it himself. Allen added his own belief, after talking to Foster and his doctors, that he would be able to resume his duties in a few weeks. The Chancellor was touched by this message and said he hoped he would receive later private news of the Secretary's progress. He stated his disbelief in doctors being wholly frank with their patients.

Ray Thurston and George West arrived from Paris this morning and are staying with Bill Tyler. They all had lunch with me, and afterwards we spent a couple of hours talking about USCINCEUR,

DECLASSIFIED

USAREUR, USCOB, Berlin Mission and Embassy Bonn relationships.

The sky is overcast, and the temperature slightly below freezing.

Tuesday, February 17, 1959

Ernie Wiener, just arrived from Vienna, came to see me this morning. He says the hotels there are so booked up for conventions during the month of May, he doubts if they could accommodate delegates to a conference if the Soviets accept such a meeting.

Australian Ambassador Shaw called on me. He wanted to be filled in on the Dulles-Adenauer conversations.

Felix von Eckardt lunched with Bill Tyler and myself. These meetings are of great value to us. In remarking on the Berlin situation, he thinks as a last resort the Spaatz plan for moving UN headquarters there, if realizable, would guarantee free access. He considers Berlin a symbol meaning much to all Germans, but does not consider they would over-despine if it were removed from eventual designation as a national capital. In such case, he would propose to substitute Potsdam.

I sent off the following telegram which I [redacted] wrote last night (116-120 pages).

DECLASSIFIED

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1759 17 FEB 59

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

16 EW
AMB
DCM

116/16 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

530
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

17 February 1959
DATE

3 PM

POL
ECON
USIS
CA
MAAG

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 1795

RPT TO: AmEmbassy LONDON PRIORITY 432

AmEmbassy PARIS PRIORITY 601

AmEmbassy MOSCOW PRIORITY 210

USMission BERLIN PRIORITY 595

USAREUR HEIDELBERG PRIORITY 439

PARIS PASS USCINCEUR, USRO, SHAPE

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION - NOFORN

FROM BRUCE

Every day one or more new proposals for settling German and Berlin problems are outlined by concerned citizens of various countries. Most of them seem to assume some form of reunification presents most feasible solution, without much regard to what Western position might be after concessions made to attain this end. I should like to comment on certain phases question.

Reunification in freedom has been slogan of FedRep Govt, supported by its Western Allies, for many years. Today, it seems as much of a will of wisp as ever. Now we are playing around with a variation on theme of free elections in both Germanies being necessary prelude to reunification. It consists of saying there are other ways of bringing about unity,

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No:

530 SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-661
(Jul 57)

Corrections and additions may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

- 117 -
- 2 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

530
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

and free elections may follow rather than precede an agreement for the joinder of territorially separated parts of a formerly integrated country.

History affords examples to support argument that chronological relationship between free elections and unification need not require the first precede the second. But in most apposite precedents proofs of previous ill-faith were not present. Now, pledges given by Soviets for future performance should be judged in light past repudiation of equally solemn engagements. This would not preclude possibility of agreement to be implemented step by step, but should render us cautious over bartering away actual positions for future prospects.

Without entering upon analysis as to whether majority of West Germans, and especially their political leaders, really believe reunification soon achievable upon terms tolerable to them, position of West, including FedRep Govt, has to date been postulated on such assumption. This has resulted in frozen policy, responsible to what people hope rather than expect.

Reexamination is in order, and beneath official surface is taking place in FedRep. For a political figure of any prominence to abandon goal of reunification would be as dangerous as for him openly to advocate the most degraded immoral practices. He must either cling stubbornly to doctrine of reunification after free elections, or, if in opposition, assert only lack of imagination and of negotiating suppleness by Executive has prevented this easy coalition. solution?

DISTRIBUTION

(2)

530

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No:

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections and additional copies to be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 5)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

- 118 -

CH. GE TO

- 3 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

530
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDEN

DATE

However, increasingly, people and politicians of all parties here wonder whether unification, be it called confederation or federation, is attainable on tolerable basis. Estimate of Soviet purposes confuses and divides them, according to individual views Soviet intentions.

Let us apply our attention to one preoccupation on which opinion is split. The Allies decided in 1945 to fragmentize Germany, despite apprehensions of the forces that might later seek to rejoin the severed members. Before long, both Soviets and ourselves mutually vied in protestations of will to reverse the process.

Meanwhile, two states with different constitutional and ideological institutions had come into being. One turned freely toward West, the other, through duress, was polarized toward East. Although vast majority of East German citizens are anti-Communist, their volition is frustrated by their inability to implement it. In a police state, dissidents can indulge in seditious thoughts without shaking totalitarian mastery.

Nothing seems to justify assumption that Soviets will permit free elections as preliminary to reunification, in any form, of the two Germanies. Nor would promises of free elections, after some imperfect and partial constitutional framework had been erected, be trustworthy. But the Soviets have offered a scheme with which they hope to beguile the West: Confederation, out of which credulous Westerners might hope would finally evolve, because of the supposed superior attractions of

DISTRIBUTION

530

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-661
(Jul 57)

Corrections and additional distribution may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

-119-
-4-

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

530
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

West for East, an entity strongly Atlantic and permitted by the Soviets to become such.

This is a dangerous illusion to cherish or accept. In such Confederation, even if Soviet troops were withdrawn from German soil, and guarantees against re-entry were effective - an optimistic theory - the influence of the Kremlin over 17 million East Germans under a Communist, and not freely elected government, possessing juridical rights equivalent to those of 52 million West Germans, would be formidable. Yet, even if this were not the case, I suppose parties to such a Confederation would already have renounced membership in the Warsaw or NATO Pacts. This would be coupled with or lead to neutralization. Regardless of the size of armies permitted the two Germanies, effective neutralization of the Federal Republic would sound the death-knell of Adenauer's policy of the incorporation of FedRep in the Western European complex.

Monnet invented the so-called European idea. Adenauer contributed to it the strongest and most consistent single support. Some accuse him, as a case with all successful politicians, of cynicism, lack of conviction in anything for which he would stake his political existence, without alluding to other instances in which he has demonstrated high political courage and deep moral sensibility, such as reparations to Israel. On one score I have never heard even his bitterest opponents question, even while criticizing, his sincerity; that is his passionate belief in the

DISTRIBUTION

530

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

INFORMATION COPY MUST be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 7)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

- 120 -

- 5 -

CHARGE TO

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

530
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

merit of encasing Germany in a veritable Western-European strait-jacket.

To destroy, entirely apart from military implications, FedRep's new-found allegiance to the West would be to kill the most promising development in Europe for centuries. One consequence would be to accept the prospect of a vital people adrift in Central Europe, without anchor or moorings, repudiated by friends, wooed by enemies.

I do not propose off-hand rejection of countless plans for settlement of German problems, but do urge that in approaching any design for German unity we bear constantly in mind that neutralization of the Federal Republic, and/or its withdrawal from NATO would deprive us of our strongest ally in Europe, and turn Germany into a floating mine.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

DISTRIBUTION
AMB
DCM
POL
ECON
USIS
CA
MAAG

AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

530

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

This afternoon I went to sign the book at the residence of the Bolivian Ambassador who died a few days ago of cancer.

Then E and I called on Nicky's throat doctor. Nicky was having a treatment for his inflamed throat. Ever since he was born, he has croaked like a frog, and apparently there is some form of speech education that may help to free his vocal chords. The doctor looked at my throat. I have been hoarse for a couple of years. He said I had more or less the same trouble as Nicky, as a result of what has now probably become chronic laryngitis. He did not offer any cure unless I would come to him regularly and take treatments, which I can not do.

We had a dinner tonight for the following. The Ambassador of Pakistan and Mrs. Rahim, Ambassador of Uruguay and Mrs. Clulow, Ambassador of the Philippines and Mrs. Ingles, Dr. and Mrs. Heinz von Truetzschler, Mr. and Mrs. Fritz Berg, Mr. and Mrs. Pierre Giacobbi, Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Gruson, Dr. and Mrs. Edward Myers, Lt. and Mrs. Thoron, and Al Wells. After the others left, Flora and Sydney Gruson remained behind, and we sat talking until 1:00 a.m.

Wednesday, February 18, 1959

Herbert Altschull came to see me this morning.

I went down later to the Foreign Office and took up with van Scherpenberg security questions referred to in the following telegram.

Form AE/GER-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

655 18 FEB 59

CHARGE TO
16
AMB
DCM
POL

- 122 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

574
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

5:00PM
18 February 1959
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON — ROUTINE 1806
RPT TO: AmEmbassy LONDON — ROUTINE 1436
AmEmbassy PARIS — ROUTINE 667
AmEmbassy MOSCOW — ROUTINE 212

FROM BRUCE

RE DEPTEL 1816

Saw State Secretary van Scherpenberg this morning on subject reftel. Said he had taken personal charge security measures connection FedRep working group. No papers from it were seen by others than limited number high officials, and section chiefs FonOff had no access to them. Thus far, neither re Secretary's discussions Chancellor nor deliberations working group did he consider leaks were due to slackness security FonMin or Chancellor's Office.

He had been attracted by Ambassador Seydoux's proposal outlined on instructions French Govt to have four powers inform press no information on substance working group studies would be divulged. He had telegraphed Grewe Washington this effect but has not yet received answer.

Said FedRep officials deeply concerned by press stories, and cited as latest illustration Newsweek article which just telegraphed to him. Would like take in concert with allies strictest measures possible.

DISTRIBUTION

1816 CN 857 2/13 SECRET

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce
AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

574

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

Gaston Coblentz visited me this afternoon.

About 6:30 p.m. I left from Mehlem on the train with Baron and Baroness Deichmann (the former owners of the magnificent Schloss property on part of which our office building is located), the Bettelonis of the Italian Embassy, Henry Pleasants and Al Wells. The last two went to hear Louis Armstrong blow his famous horn. The rest of us dined with Dr. Schneider at the Schloss Jägerhof. He had bought a few things since I was last there, including a three-foot high white and fierce looking Meissen dog, acquired by him in Denmark. The collection was as impressive and enjoyable as ever. There were about 20 of us, including the beautiful Grand Duchess of Mecklenberg.

We left about 11:00 and got home shortly after 1:00 a.m.

Thursday, February 19, 1959

Foggy day. Ernie Leiser called on me this morning.

This afternoon, I held the general staff meeting formerly chaired by Bill Trimble.

Not much traffic from Washington, and nothing new on Foster's condition, except for the President saying he did not expect to accept his resignation unless [redacted] it were determined he could not carry on his duties.

We reported today on the lunch Tyler and I had earlier in the week with Felix von Eckardt. (See pages 124-127.)

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

E went to Paris last night to consult Dr. Maurice Mayer.

Friday, February 20, 1959

Beautiful sunny day. Ernest Leiser lunched with me at the house.

I sat up late last night drafting a telegram containing further reflections on the German problem. I have not decided whether to send it, since the Department may think we have become too free with gratuitous advice.

I had a talk this afternoon with John Hay about the progress of the SOF negotiations. It looks as if they would at last be concluded next month.

To my great surprise, Jimmy Riddleberger has accepted the top post in ICA. I do not like to see him leave the Foreign Service, in which he has so distinguished himself. I have been told he felt he could no longer afford to remain as Ambassador to Greece, since his entertainment allowances were too small to support the social demands he had to meet. This illustrates again the shocking short-sightedness of our Congress in this respect.

The new Colombian Ambassador Escobar-Lopez made his protocol call on me this afternoon. Afterwards, I saw Greek Ambassador Capetanides.

The Colombian Ambassador, who seemed [redacted] pleasant,

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

complained, quite naturally, of the strain imposed on him by living in Cologne and having to commute daily to Bonn. His wife and children are in Majorca while his Cologne house is being refurnished.

Ambassador Capetanides wanted to know if I could get him any information about whether the Greek Military Mission in Berlin would shortly be deprived of its housing and the other facilities furnished it by the occupation authorities. Since his Mission is in the British Sector, he should more properly have addressed himself to the British Ambassador. My guess is he had already done so and drawn a blank.

As far as we are concerned, we have only two such missions within our jurisdiction, one the Danish and the other the Czechoslovakian. Notice [redacted] was given to the Foreign Offices of countries with such establishments in Berlin some months ago, announcing our intention to terminate on March 31 the facilities afforded them. There has been quite a storm over this proposal, and the whole matter is now being re-studied. I told Capetanides we hope to be able to make a definite decision within two weeks.

The Chiefs of Mission here would, of course, like to maintain the present status of their representation in Berlin. When they go there, they transfer from civilian to assimilated military rank and have the expenses of their offices paid, in effect, by the Berlin Government out of occupation costs. Such charges include the

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

wages and keep of domestic servants. In the Greek case, I gather only two Greeks remain there permanently, one a clerk and the other a courier, but a considerable number of locals care for them and support their efforts.

E returned about midnight from Paris.

Saturday, February 21, 1959

Sunny day. At the office. Tyler and I conferred over what seemed to us a rather despondent telegram from Tommy Thompson in Moscow, regarding terms that might be acceptable to the Soviets for a settlement of the Berlin and German problems.

When Foster Dulles was here, it [redacted] was agreed that Weber, the wonderful interpreter used by the Chancellor, would make notes of the private conversations between the Secretary and the Chancellor. We received copies of them today, and they are [redacted] interesting reading. (See pages 131-139 following.)

Dennie Flinn came up from Heidelberg this afternoon to meet Tyler and myself in connection with the draft of a message USAREUR proposes to send to Washington about some [redacted] delicate matters.

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET Copy No. 2

B MEMORANDUM page 1

Copy No. 3

On 8 February 1959, at 10:30, the Federal Chancellor received the American Foreign Minister, Mr. Dulles, for a conversation in which participated the Minister for Foreign Affairs, State Secretary van Scherpenberg, Ambassador Bruce, and Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, Mr. Livingstone Merchant.

The Federal Chancellor began by saying that Mr. Blankenhorn had told him that in the view of both Mr. Couve de Murville and Mr. Spaak all negotiations on the big questions must include Berlin. Everything should be done to do away with the date of May 27 since otherwise negotiations would be conducted under pressure of the Berlin question. If the results were negative--and he considered this a probability--everything would be much more complicated and the situation still more tense. It would have an extremely favorable effect on the negotiations if it were possible to achieve in time a preliminary settlement for Berlin.

He wished to invite attention to the fact that Khrushchev, in his final address before the Party Congress, had introduced, in his statements concerning Berlin, certain nuances which deviated somewhat from the contents of the Note of 27 November. It could not be said whether it would be possible to find such a solution without doing harm to the prestige of the three Western Powers or without shaking the trust of the Berliners. One would have to wait first for the exact wording of the statements made by Khrushchev.

The Chancellor then said when Herr Krapf delivered the Memorandum in Washington, the American Foreign Minister had inquired as to what the United States should do if the bridges on the roads of access to Berlin in the GDR were blown up. To this he wished to reply that a very critical situation would be created if it should come to the use of force in not too strong a form. He had, therefore, a moment ago talked about a preliminary settlement of the Berlin question; for if that could be achieved such critical situation could not at all arise. However, if it should be impossible to find such a solution and if the situation should come to a critical point, one cannot find an answer today to every conceivable contingency. He only wished to stress three general principles of a negative character. There are three things which must not happen. First, there must be no development which would make evident disunity among the three Western Powers. Secondly, the three Western Powers, particularly the United States, must not let themselves be forced into a position in which they cannot retreat from a position once taken.

The American Foreign Minister interjected the question whether the Chancellor was thinking of a territorial position or of a position in a figurative sense, for instance, in a legal sense.

The American Foreign Minister said he had never thought one could force a nation effectively to continue adhering to an international treaty which is based on international cooperation unless this is also the wish of the State concerned. If the Government wished to withdraw from a treaty relationship, it would always do so even if, in a technical sense, it would perhaps not withdraw completely. He was thinking, for example, of Iraq, which, while technically still a member of the Baghdad Pact could hardly be called so in practice. Some time ago Greece had threatened to leave NATO because of the Cyprus conflict and if this had been her earnest desire Greece would not have let anyone interfere with her action even if the treaty had ten more years to run. The value of an agreement depends upon the willing cooperation of its members. If this is lacking no legal technical language can replace it. The treaties which he himself had negotiated were animated by this spirit. If a State wishes to withdraw from a treaty, paper shackles will not prevent it from doing so. He himself therefore did not attribute to the problem raised by the Chancellor the same importance. Perhaps his views were a bit uncommon inasmuch as he lays greater stress on the spirit of a treaty than on its letter. On the other hand, he was not opposed to efforts to have the treaty extended. He questioned, however, whether now was the opportune moment to raise this point. Ten years are a long time and furthermore the views of de Gaulle would make it appear extremely difficult to obtain French approval to an extension. If the question were raised now he was certain that de Gaulle would submit counterproposals which would have a dividing rather than a unifying effect. He would therefore prefer if more States would make a declaration such as made by the United States in 1957. Perhaps the French attitude may change in one or two years.

The Federal Chancellor recognized the difficulties which the French might raise. He said, however, that he could not agree with the general principle. If treaties are concluded and periods of time are provided, one should not let everyone do as he pleases. Certainly, one can not force anyone to continue a treaty relationship. It makes a difference, however, whether a government scraps an agreement or whether it makes use of its right of denunciation as embodied in the treaty. He would take the liberty of returning to this question from time to time.

The American Foreign Minister conceded that his views perhaps would not necessarily be applicable to NATO in view of what it had become. In contradistinction to mere alliances with definite treaty obligations, NATO had become a political institution of its own. The United States hopes that this development continues even stronger. Such institution differs certainly from a mere juridical treaty system and therefore, in this case, perhaps more could be said in favor of an extension of its duration.

DECLASSIFIED

In conclusion the American Foreign Minister once again spoke about the difficulties which the French are likely to raise. He expressed the hope that de Gaulle may still be able to learn something. However, he had not gained a favorable impression of Debre.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Sunday, February 22, 1959

E. Al Wells, the Tylers and myself left this morning by train for Trier. The sun came out and it was a beautiful trip through the smiling valleys, especially those along the Mosel. We dropped the others at Trier and went on to Wincheringen where Walt Butterworth met us. It was an hour's drive from there to his [redacted] attractive little 18th century schloss, about seven miles from the city of Luxembourg.

We had lunch with Virginia and Walt, and after spending a couple of hours with them, returned by the same route to Mehlem, arriving at seven o'clock.

I had an opportunity I had sought for a long time, to discuss with Butterworth the FTA-Common Market difficulties and the European coal situation, especially as they pertain to American interests. He has a thorough grasp of these problems and is an especially valuable man to have as our representative to the European Community.

Monday, February 23, 1959

Went to the office this morning. Called on the Chancellor at noon at his request, and made the following report on our conversation (see pages 141-143).

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Today being a public holiday in the United States, things were quiet at the office.

At three o'clock, E. Al Wells, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Miller and myself took the train to Kaiserslautern. We were to have been joined halfway by the Blanckes, but Wendell has contracted a severe case of influenza, so they were replaced by the Moores.

At Amerika Haus several hundred people had congregated, including the Land President, Oberbuergermeister Sommer, and other officials and citizens. This prosperous city of 100,000 people lies at the center of a district where the largest number of American troops in Germany are stationed. Some of our Army officers attended the meeting.

There was a small stringed orchestra which rendered airs, and a number of speeches were made, including one by myself on George Washington. The building had been undergoing redecoration for the past year and this was its official re-opening. After everyone had been thoroughly doused with Sekt, we left and arrived at Mehlem about 11 p.m.

It [redacted] was a fine, sunny day, with glorious views as we ran through the rich valleys.

Tuesday, February 24, 1959

Ed Korry came to see me this afternoon. He is an old friend

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

and, as foreign correspondent for Look, now has his headquarters in London. He has been in Berlin for two weeks gathering material for an article on Germany. In the last three years he has spent almost two months in the East Zone and feels, as I do, that the Soviets are most unlikely to surrender their hold over it except in return for the break-up of the Federal Republic's membership in NATO and later in Community organizations. He thinks many of the politicians at home, bemused by the idea of flexibility, have no real appreciation of the dangerous advice they proffer on how to bring about a reunification of Germany.

Tomorrow is Foster Dulles's 71st birthday. I sent him a telegram of congratulations at the hospital.

Wednesday, February 25, 1959

Brigadier General Autrey Maroun came to see me this morning to introduce his replacement, Brigadier General William Train. The relationship between the Embassy and Maroun as USAREUR controller has been highly satisfactory on both sides. Train is a nice fellow from California and his wife is, I think, a cousin of mine.

Henry Tasca and I had a long talk over a request from the Department to express our views as to the pros and cons of having the Agricultural Attaché integrated into or separate from the Foreign

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

Service. It is one of those delightful bureaucratic exercises in which much can be said on both sides.

Mr. LePome, who was for about nine months in charge of the Community Services activities and whose contract has now been terminated, came to see me. He is dissatisfied over the treatment accorded him and is looking for another job. The members of the Executive Committee were dissatisfied with him, so the severance seems natural.

Herbert Altschull came to see me, and afterwards I went over with Tyler and Rebecca Wellington the latest proposals made from USCINCEUR about handling the Berlin access problems. I stewed over their suggestions at home and wrote the draft of an ill-natured telegram. I shall review it in the morning.

It has been a beautiful day.

Announcement was made today of Adenauer's intention to visit Paris March 4 for talks with General de Gaulle. The Chancellor [redacted] told me of this when I saw him Monday, but [redacted] did not mention the date. General de Gaulle [redacted] took the initiative in the matter.

The naming of Erhard by CDU/CSU as its candidate for the presidency was also broadcast today. Erhard is vacationing in the Black Forest and has not given his acceptance. There are some who

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

believe he will be opposed to doing so, since this would remove him from the possibility of succeeding Adenauer as Chancellor. Everyone believes Adenauer, if alive, has every intention of running again. By having a Protestant become President, his own position as a Catholic would be strengthened.

Thursday, February 26, 1959

After fog in the mornings, the days continue [redacted] sunny and spring-like.

I said goodby to John Sinclair, who is being transferred to London.

Spent most of the day with members of the Political Section, talking and drafting.

Tonight I went to the Embassy Club to attend the National Day reception of the Dominican Republic. There are always hundreds of people at such affairs - I think this must be a very cocktail-minded community.

Friday, February 27, 1959

Dr. Joseph Cohn called on me this morning, with a letter of introduction from Dave Zellerbach. He is European Representative of the American Committee of Weisman Institute of Science in Israel, and lives in Zurich. He was associated with that remarkable man, Weisman, for fifteen years, and I found his report on the

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

progress of scientific education in Israel [redacted] interesting.

The new Netherlands Ambassador van Vredenburch came to see me. He is an old friend from Paris days, though I have not seen him for some years. He is unusually able and attractive, and has a delightful wife. He is half Dutch and half Italian.

Joe Dasher came to see me and gave me some useful intelligence information on the East Zone.

Dave Nichol of the Chicago Daily News called on me. Conversations with American journalists are becoming rather stereotyped. All of them I see are in favor of the strongest possible American stand about Berlin and only want to check up in an attempt to ascertain whether or not our policy has changed.

I had a telephone message from van Scherpenberg, and went to see him at 7:00 p.m., reporting on our conversation in the following telegram (see pages 149-150).

DECLASSIFIED

Form AE/GER-681

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT

CHARGE TO
6 ED-ER
AMB
DCM
POL

149

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

PRECEDENCE

29 FEB 59 893
CONTRO NUMBER

12:00NOON
28 February 1959
DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 1895

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM BRUCE

Van Scherpenberg sent for me last night at instance Chancellor (home nursing cold without fever) and FonMin (home with bad case influenza). Said they and himself, in spite efforts comply with U. S. request to advance ideas regarding solution German problems, felt they had nothing novel to contribute. Whatever views they had in security field they were reluctant to put forward lest they seem to disregard what might be American security interests far more important than their own. I could develop nothing from this cryptic statement, which I personally feel reveals what already reported by Embassy:

(1) Difficulty obtaining constructive suggestions from FedRep;

(2) Dissatisfaction of Chancellor with working group papers, including German, thus far prepared.

State Secretary continued that, because of above situation, they would welcome a visit to Bonn before March 9 Paris meeting by some high level Dept officer, preferably Murphy or Merchant, with whom they could have frank and secret discussions. This could take place March 6, 7 or 8 and last only a day. He asked if I saw any objection. I answered I knew the officers named were even busier than usual, and could venture no guess as to availability. Second, I thought especially

DISTRIBUTION

893

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone Ext.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections made on this original must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-681 (Jul 57)

Form AE/GER-2
(Aug 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CONFIDENTIAL

150

CHARGE TO

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

893
CONTRO NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

under prevailing circumstances, visit to Bonn would be misconstrued in other capitals and give rise to widespread speculation. He responded U. S. officer could also go Paris and London.

I asked what, if anything, he wished me to do. He said if I had no objection, they would transmit request through Ambassador Grewe, and would I please support it. I told him I would report it, that nothing would please me more than to have Murphy or Merchant come here, such talks would indeed be useful, but Dept. alone could decide as to availability or advisability.

My own reaction is that it has always been productive to have Secretary, or failing him, some high WASHINGTON official in whom Chancellor has confidence, see him, hear his latest comments on foreign policy and relate our own. Under such circumstances I believe he talks with greater freedom than he does to his own associates. At present, he is preoccupied over his talks with de Gaulle on March 4, and those he will have later with Macmillan, as well as fear working groups Paris may develop undesirable plans. In addition, he is naturally very concerned over Berlin, reception Macmillan in Moscow, etc. However, in this instance, I think the timing is bad, and Soviets as well as others might construe and propagandize such meeting as showing uncertainty/ ~~[illegible]~~, on part West.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

DISTRIBUTION

AMB
DCM
POL
no others

A.B.

893

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections or INFORMATION COPIES may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

Saturday, February 28, 1959

At the office. Another beautiful day in a string, where the weather has been sunny each morning or afternoon, since January 26.

This evening we left at six o'clock with the Bettelonis to go to Schloss Strauweiler at Odenthal, not far from Cologne, to dine with Prince Karl Heinrich zu Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg and his wife, who is half English. There were 20 or more people who had come for this occasion to their attractive house, none of them, with the exception of ourselves, directly connected with governments. Apprehension of what may happen in Berlin has recently become prevalent and there was a good deal of conversation on the subject. We were met at the station, about 7 kilometers distant, by their head gamekeeper, who might have just stepped out of Grimm's Fairy Tales. He was about five feet high and carried a hunting knife and other implements of the chase. Our young host is a passionate sportsman, and the Schloss is filled with stag horns and other trophies.

We had a [redacted] congenial evening, and returned home about one o'clock in the morning.

Sunday, March 1, 1959

Al Wells came out this morning with telegrams. One of them from the Department replied to that I had sent on my interview with van Scherpenberg. It made the foolish suggestion of having the

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Department inform the German Government I possessed the full confidence of the President and the Secretary, and it would be neither necessary nor convenient to send Murphy or Merchant to Bonn. I replied by sending the following cable (pages 153-154).

This afternoon Bill Tyler came to see me, and we went carefully over the last of the numerous drafts I have been making for a summary report on principles I think should govern our policy toward German problems.

DECLASSIFIED

Form AE/GER-12 THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM — AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

COLLECT

153

CHARGE TO
6 ED-ED
AMB
DCM
POL

SECRET — CLASSIFICATION

02 — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

2:00 PM
1 March 1959 — DATE

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON NIACT 1898

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTING SECRETARY FROM BRUCE

DEPTEL 1954

Re alternatives A and B would emphatically urge discarding A and instead making oral reply, but only if Grewe actually transmits request. Think we must remember Chancellor has probably been in unusually agitated state of mind since Secretary's illness, and daily fears as result his diligent reading inaccurate U.S. press reports, our Government may be contemplating changes in policies outlined by Secretary during recent visit Bonn. Also, he is definitely uneasy over what working group may recommend, especially, I suspect, because he must be aware of sharp differences personal opinions amongst prospective members his own delegation. There is no unanimity within FedRep Foreign Office for any methods for dealing with present problems, and there is much free-wheeling and indiscipline, witness memorandum conversation between Dillon and Walter Lippmann about Duckwits.

I shall have to be frank, though reluctantly so, on a further point. It is my impression, (unless I am deluding myself) that Chancellor has full confidence in me personally, and perhaps even regards me with a

DISTRIBUTION

02

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681 (Jul 57)

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections made on this original must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12 THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CORRECT

CHARGE TO

264

- 2 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

02
CONTRO NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

certain affection. However, he likes to have frequent contacts, or at least reassurances, from the source of executive power.

My own suggestion would be you tell Grewe orally, and only if he calls to bring up this subject, it is both impracticable and undesirable (for reasons mentioned last sentence paragraph 1 suggested message under A) to send senior officer here this time.

If you approve, I would add you are instructing me to be Paris second week working group activities to inform myself fully on working group matters, and remain there until they are concluded. Thereafter, I would be instructed to return to Bonn, discuss results Paris meeting fully with Chancellor, obtain his latest views, and few days afterward go to Washington for consultation.

BRUCE

AUTH: Alfred Wells

Wells

Deptel 1954 CN 04 Feb 28 SECRET

DISTRIBUTION
AMB
DCM
POL
no others

02

AMB:Symmes/mks 3/1/1
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Form AE/GER-681
1Jul 57

Correction, if any, must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

Monday, March 1, 1959

A beautiful day - spring-like and sunny. The crocuses, tulips and hyacinths in our garden have all thrust their leaves above the ground, probably destined for a later blight during a cold spell. The temperature ranges between 32 and 60 degrees.

Since Trimble left, I have had a good deal more administrative work than previously. I saw Colonel Thomas, CINCEUR representative here, and tried to unravel with him the tangled skein of our relationship with various elements of the U. S. Army.

Herb Thatcher arrived back from his vacation today, and I had a long talk with him about the top secret matters on which we are engaged.

This noon I sent off the telegram I had gone over with Bill Tyler yesterday (see pages 157-167).

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

No page 156
in ORIGINAL or duplicate
diary

DECLASSIFIED

INCOMING TELEGRAM
THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN
113 2 MAR 59

157

FROM: EW

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

06
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

1 PM
2 March 1959
DATE

SENT TO:	SecState WASHINGTON	PRIORITY	1899
RPT TO:	AmEmbassy LONDON	PRIORITY	455
	AmEmbassy PARIS	PRIORITY	644
	AmEmbassy MOSCOW	PRIORITY	220
	USMission BERLIN	PRIORITY	638
	USAREUR HEIDELBERG	PRIORITY	471

PARIS PASS USCINCEUR, USRO, SHAPE

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION - NOFORN

FROM BRUCE

On basis assessment contained Moscow 210 Feb 19 to Dept as to improbability German settlement being agreed by Soviets unless there were prospective withdrawal of FedRep from NATO, and other concessions to attainment reunification in freedom, I should like to make following observations.

I wonder if generally accepted theory that division of Germany constitutes immediate threat peace of world is sound. Partly because of belief in this theory, coupled with moral distaste for inhuman separation of kindred peoples, West[illegible] has supported certain policies directed at achieving reunification.

But is this division really a primary source of dangerous tensions, or has it become more symbol of underlying US-USSR power struggle.

DISTRIBUTION

06

Name of Originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

INFORMATION COPY
Comments may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

exploited by each side to influence public opinions? The conflict between free world and international Communism is global: its manifestations in Germany are local expression of hostility between irreconcilable political philosophies.

The West is not under dire pressure, except in Berlin, to give up its present posture in Central Europe and consent to German unity on basis other than free elections. The attack is rather directed against its defensive commitments, alleged by Communists to be dangerous and aggressive while cloaked in garb of being defensive. As regards Berlin, undoubted peril exists that rejection of Soviet proposals might create conditions susceptible engendering global war.

Perhaps Soviets have welcomed and wish perpetuate contention over German unity, for opportunities it gives them denounce war-mongering Western planners, and "revanchist" designs FedRep leaders. Hoping ultimately to yoke both Germanies to Communist chariot, they try to exploit Western insistence reunification issue by dangling prospect realization this goal in return for far-reaching concessions.

What are concessions most attractive to Soviets? Certai[illegible] calculated further to advance their ambition to subvert FedRep, [illegible] and finally eliminate its dependence upon and affiliation with Atla[illegible]oc. To accomplish this, I would judge they consider dominance over East Germany consolidates a major center of European operations, with

strategy determined by and commands issued from Kremlin. Moreover, East Germany is that Soviet asset most likely to disrupt Western solidarity if adroitly and temptingly utilized.

If, as argued in recent telegrams (Embtels 1779, 1780, 1795) Soviets, on balance, may be rather contented with actual control over Pankow, and unwilling relinquish existing position of strength and consequent capacity to confuse, frighten and embarrass West, except in return for detachment of FedRep from Western allegiance, concessions they would demand for any weakening their own position are likely to be greater than West, in its own interests, can afford to pay.

So long as Soviets may believe end our policy toward Germany is to bring about reunification, they will demand much and give little. People in East Zone, though unreconciled to Communist regime, have learned how to live with it, though unwillingly and under duress. Many of the most vigorous have fled (leaving a gap in resistance leadership), but the vast majority can not do so, and are progressively impelled to adjust themselves to their lot.

Soviets may wish to maintain truncated Germany for strategic, political, economic, security advantages. To allow unity two Germanies in freedom would strip them of such advantages, and increase whatever fears they entertain of German vitality. If they already apprehensive lest rearmed FedRep might, through military adventurism, draw them

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

06
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

into world conflict, how much more might they fear potential of 17 million more Germans added to those already inimical?

For many reasons, would seem to me logical Soviets would prefer Germany divided, as permanently as possible, unless Confederation on conditions dictated by them feasible. If so, one assumption heretofore made by some Western politicians and commentators requires re-examination, namely, that Soviets might be induced to make deal over future of Germany on terms sufficiently reasonable to satisfy West, because Soviets, to avoid continuing dangers German problem, would make sacrifices to have Germanies united rather than separated.

Unless working group preparing Western position reaches realistic estimate value to Soviets present control East Germany, I anticipate it may advocate dangerous compromises in illusory hope tempting Soviets accept some reunification plan.

It may be that negotiations with Soviets will bring out hard choice that may be confronting us; either retention FedRep in Atlantic complex, or German reunification on terms exposing FedRep to Communist domination by weakening Western security position. Unlikely Soviets would permit us ~~xxx~~ shelter in half-way house. If such choice had to be made, I would unhesitatingly select former alternative, even though price paid for it might well be provisional renunciation of hope or expectation of a reunited Germany.

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name and Telephone No.

06

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections INFORMATION COPY made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

161

PAGE TO

- 5 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

06
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

We should ground U. S. policy on refusal to admit any impairment of attachment of FedRep to NATO and other Western institutions, and permit no diminution of its equal rights and obligations in relation thereto. For better or worse, FedRep must be treated by us with full confidence; to discriminate against it and reduce it to second-rate and limited partnership would be to invite later infidelity.

Monolithic Adenauer will, I believe, until dying breath, demand continued incorporation of his Republic in Atlantic Community, no matter what cost in frustration elsewhere. But in his own party, and to greater extent in the opposition, are many who, fearful, uneasy, might barter away present FedRep independence, as an equal amongst equals in Atlantic Community, for what might prove to be only temporary accommodation with Soviets. This is particularly true under present circumstances when they are agitated over what may result from Berlin crisis.

If above analysis is even half correct, we must be armed against surprises, and ready to establish our own minimum conditions in any interchanges with Soviets. I, for one, would concede them nothing in the way of retreating from our existing, and not unfavorable or untenable, status in Europe. If they undertake to dislodge us from it at risk of general war, I should rather accept that risk now than later. It may be West Germans and other allies will seek to undermine our determination, by advocating (though unlikely on part of FedRep while Adenauer

DRAFTER/ORIGIN

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

06

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

06
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

lives) FedRep departure from NATO as a concession to Soviets on reunification.

As to European security proposals, we should be ready to debate them, but remain resolved to preserve at all costs FedRep's full association with the West. The only permissible exception might be limitations in military field if, after profound examination, we decide that such measures are fully consistent with the maintenance of a security position in Europe at least as favorable to us as present one, and if similar limitations apply to certain other NATO and Warsaw Pact powers, so that FedRep is not singled out for discrimination.

However, important bear in mind possible political repercussions agreement between Soviets and ourselves involving limitations on or changes in disposition of, Western troops, particularly American. Any such agreement likely be publicized by Soviets, as well as Western press, as promising first step on road relaxation of tensions, thus encouraging Western public assume and expect corresponding progress political field. Unless even limited measures military agreement reflect at least some degree substantial progress toward solution political issues, they may unleash prematurely unjustified optimism and harmful diminution of will resistance Western peoples.

It is, I imagine, likely that our position in Berlin is such that best we can hope for there (and then only in light determination, if

TELEGRAM

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

06

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections or additions may be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

OUTGOING TELEGRAM — AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

ADDRESS TO

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

06
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

necessary, to resort to nuclear war) is to maintain status quo, with constant threat of having Soviets or GDR persevere in their harassment. Our present position is one we may only be able sustain by unilateral action. For though General de Gaulle, a man of fixed principles, seems unyielding in his attitude, forces he can devote to world conflict are deficient in modern armaments and, as consequence of their actual [illegible], unlikely to contribute to our strength. As for British, their diplomatic and national habits, their pragmatic approach to international problems, persuade them to deal with facts, not hypotheses, and often to make plans only after the event. However, once die were cast, if war ensued, they would, as always, be most dependable of allies.

So, if we go it alone, in the direction of nuclear war, we can certainly not count on full support until after our own forces are about to be committed. In case of West Germans, even so stout a friend as the Chancellor has revealed decided hesitation over awful prospect of recourse to total war.

If Khrushchev rejects our proposal for Foreign Ministers' conference, think we would find our Allies unwilling to avoid Summit Conference. In such case, would seem better to have such conference take form of meeting of Chiefs of State in New York, under auspices of Security Council, with opportunity afforded for private conversations

DISTRIBUTION

06

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections in the text of the original must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Form AE/GER-681 (Jul 57)

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

06
CONTRO NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

between President Eisenhower and Khrushchev (UN tels to Dept Circular 998, 999, 1000).

If this does not take place, or fails to establish agreement, and there is no bluff on either side, Soviet or American, the issue may be joined, not inadvertently, but because both sides have gone too far to beat retreat. At this point, last chance would be to have President Eisenhower, either by personal message to Khrushchev, or in hastily arranged meeting with him, emphasize shattering effects of failure to solve Berlin problem.

But how can Berlin problem be solved in any forum without sacrificing freedom of West Berliners, or, even graver in long run, leading to detachment of FedRep from West? The abandonment by us of Berliners would destroy confidence in our engagements everywhere, even in those uncommitted countries that presently criticize our announced intention to maintain our rights and protect those who rely on us.

I had hoped Berlin problem need not be treated in isolation, but could be dealt with in connection with consideration of larger affairs, in which it could be softened and absorbed. This may no longer be possible if Khrushchev holds to his recent utterances. Therefore, at least for planning purposes, we must prepare for situation where fate of Berlin will depend on understanding between USSR and ourselves being reached.

DISTRIBUTION

06

Name of originating Office, Person Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections made on this original must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Form AE/ IR-681 (Ju 11)

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

165

- 9 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

06
CONTRO NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

If any understanding be possible, what considerations should govern our conduct of negotiations? First of all, honor. We are pledged not to abandon people of West Berlin. But even if actual unsatisfactory status quo were continued, prospects for future are dim, for whether it be Soviets or GDR who give turn of the screw, we will still be vulnerable. Our position is minimal, we have nothing to trade except out of our flesh and blood. To yield little is to yield everything. It is most unlikely that the Soviets or GDR would regard, as has sometimes been suggested, the closing down of RIAS, or the curtailment of our intelligence operations, as really significant. What they want is the whole hog. And, in the absence of our unshaken will to plunge, if required, into a nuclear conflict, they are in position at worst to subject Western occupants of Berlin to almost unbearable strains x or, at best, to drive them from it, denuded of honor and prestige, and expose U. S. particularly as Paper Tiger.

How can we make successful sortie out of this beleaguered fortress? We must first consider psychology of West Berliners. They are almost blithely confident of our ability to protect and will to stand by them, and of faith in our guarantees to do so. No alternative solution would be satisfactory to them unless they felt it provided a degree of security equivalent to that represented by our present commitment, which implies our willingness to sacrifice perhaps tens of millions of

TRANSMISSION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

06 SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections made on this original must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

166

PAGE TO

- 10 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

06
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

American lives rather than give up Berlin.

Is there any such equivalent? Almost certainly not withdrawal of our garrison, and replacement of its functions and our guarantees by United Nations police force, and some vague supervision by UN of inviolability of the city. Nevertheless, study should be given to variants of UN presence and responsibility.

It would not be in interest of free world, as I have earlier argued, to give the quid of discarding FedRep as Western colleague for a doubtful quo which might not succeed in preserving actual status in Berlin. What then might be the basis for possible deal?

I repeat, we must be prepared and ready, if all else fails, to wage nuclear war against Soviets. But short of that, if they too would seek to avoid such catastrophe, is there common ground on which we could meet? Perhaps by removing Berlin entirely from the arena of political conflict, thus eliminating it as a prize, subject to conditions acceptable to its citizens and to German opinion. Of all schemes proposed, the Spaatz plan, in this respect, appears to me the most appealing. Internationalize the area, preferably including also East Berlin, by making it seat of United Nations and converting it into United Nations territory. This may sound impracticable, but Governments might do unexpected things, if alternative appeared to be destruction of most of human race.

If this were accomplished, West Berliners might feel secure.

DISTRIBUTION

06

Name of originating Office, Persons Name and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections may be made in the original only. Must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

167
- 11 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

06
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

Presence of thousands of foreigners, derived from every country, might constitute an acceptable solution, if they were themselves convinced it provided a guarantee of their independence and freedom, at least equivalent to that represented by our present commitments. Indeed, to the skeptical, it might be more reassuring than dependence, year after year, decade after decade, on almost incredible resolution of their erstwhile Western enemies, whom they had so grievously wronged, to protect them indefinitely at such potential sacrifices.

Intelligence reports from Berlin seem indicate settled Soviet intention turn over their responsibilities to GDR. Since they can reverse their position overnight, it would be part of wisdom for us to anticipate this might happen at any time, even before the date of May 27.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

DISTRIBUTION

AMB
DCM
POL
ECON
CA
EO

MAAG
ARMA
ALUSNA
AIRA
OTHERS

AMB:DBruce/mkr 3111
(Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.)

06 SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

INFORMATION COPY

Corrections made on the original will be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Kit Steel came to dine this evening. Kate and he had been in Venice for the past week and [redacted] just returned. Kit, as usual, looked in superb health. He said he managed to lose seven pounds in two weeks and get down to his normal weight of 176 pounds, permitting him to wear clothes made as long ago as 1934, by giving up sugar, potatoes and flour products, but not alcohol.

The Soviets sent a note to us today, the synopsis of which we discussed. It proposes a summit conference and, failing that, a Foreign Ministers' conference on various restricted terms.

Kit and I are in agreement as to how to handle the ticklish matter of alert measures with the German Government.

Tuesday, March 3, 1959

I received the new Paraguayan Ambassador, Dr. Ramón Mendes Paiva.

E and I went to lunch at the Icelandic Embassy. The Icelanders are an [redacted] amiable couple. The Norwegian, Ceylonese, and Canadian Ambassadors and their wives were there, as well as other people. Many of these social occasions are useful, since they sometimes afford an opportunity to obtain views of diplomatic colleagues, German officials and private citizens on matters of current importance.

I had a long talk after lunch with Escott Reid, the Canadian Ambassador, covering his views on what the UN might accomplish

DECLASSIFIED

in the Berlin situation.

When I got back to the office, we had a long meeting of the Political Section to consider an answer drafted to the questionnaire issued by the working group on Berlin.

Then, with Tasca and Radius, we got off a couple of telegrams regarding air access to Berlin (see pages 170-176).

Next, I saw Wellington Long of UP, and afterwards the Grusons. They were full of ideas provoked by the Soviet note of yesterday.

An urgent telegram from the Department on the subject of the possibility of the French withdrawing their Mediterranean fleet from NATO earmark, required me to visit van Scherpenberg at six o'clock. This killed another hour, and I returned to the office to draft a telegram on my conversation with him.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Wednesday, March 4, 1959

I left by train at 7:45 this morning with Messrs. Tasca, Radius, Schwartz, Wells and Col. Miller for Ramstein Air Base. It is a trip of about 3 1/4 hours. We were met in the rain by Major General Gabriel P. Disosway and Brigadier General Davis. They are [redacted] efficient and fine officers, [redacted] Davis, a Negro General, is everywhere respected and admired. Like his father, he is a West Pointer.

We had an interesting briefing in the air war room, an excellent lunch in the guest house, then a visit to the combined operations center. This center is fascinating and represents a miracle of organization and use of complicated and delicate equipment. We were taken to one of the airfields to watch a scramble. The pilots got off the ground, their planes with bombs readied, in less than five minutes after the signal was given.

We went to the static display where we saw the newest types of aircraft, as well as a Matador on its carrier.

We left at four o'clock. It had been an [redacted] instructive performance, and we were all enthused over what we saw.

Thursday, March 5, 1959

I went to the Political Officers' meeting this morning, and gave them quite a harangue. These officers had come from the

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

various posts in Germany, and each spoke in turn about conditions in his locality. The presentations were excellent; [redacted] this type of meeting is valuable.

Eric Warburg from Hamburg came to lunch with me. As usual, I found him wise and well informed. He is a fine man.

Henry Tasca brought Luke Finley, who has been in charge of Esso representation in Hamburg, and Mr. Greeven, his replacement, as well as Mr. Geier, Standard of New Jersey's German representative, to see me. Finley is leaving to take over a post with wider responsibilities at Geneva. For thirty years I have met, off and on, Jersey's European officers, and have never failed to be struck by their high level of competence.

Eddie Page visited me this afternoon. He has just returned from home leave and is on his way back to Munich via Berlin. If we restore diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, he is to become Chief of Mission in Sofia; an admirable selection.

General Thatcher introduced Col. Ecklund to me. He is replacing Col. Beasley as Executive Officer of MAAG. Herb and I had a talk about our top secret affairs.

We gave a cocktail party tonight for the visiting political officers and an Embassy group, comprising about 80 people.

It has been a sunny day.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Friday, March 6, 1959

Canadian Ambassador Reid came to see me. He [redacted] prepared some time ago a draft memorandum for Norman Robertson, suggesting consideration be given to solutions of the Berlin problem by the interposition in various manners of the UN. We had a lengthy talk about the Spaatz plan, with which he is [redacted] taken.

Felix von Eckardt came to lunch with Bill Tyler and myself and we resumed the discussion, held between us at our last lunch, of the Spaatz plan. He thought if anything were to be done in this regard it would have to be a last minute operation and until that point our intentions cloaked in secrecy. He thought, for example, the surprise would be dramatic if, at a point when war seemed likely to break out, President Eisenhower would propose the internationalization of both Berlins as the principal site of the UN. Under threat of nuclear war, he thought such a suggestion would result in an overwhelming majority of members voting in favor of it. However, if the idea were bruited about in advance, and the Soviets learned of it, they might succeed in blocking acceptance of it.

Bob Loupe introduced to me this afternoon Mr. Meigs, the replacement for Hugh Adamson.

I saw John Mecklin of Time-Life, who is doing his first article on Germany.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

I held a staff meeting at four o'clock, and Bill Tyler gave an especially good account of the last Soviet note. He feels their offer of a Foreign Ministers' meeting, at which the agenda would be restricted to two items: (1) a peace treaty and (2) Berlin, is full of danger. He also analyzed the results of the Macmillan visit to the Soviet Union and considers it did not lead to any constructive results, but, on the contrary, introduced the disturbing element of seeming British approval for a withdrawal of troops from Central Europe.

The van Scherpenbergs gave a cocktail party this afternoon but I was unable to attend it since I was delayed at the office. E went.

We dined tonight with the Quaronis at their newly decorated Embassy. The Gerstenmaiers, Schröders and about 12 others were there. It was [redacted] pleasant.

Everyone is quoting de Gaulle's remark to Adenauer, when he entertained him in the hunting lodge at Marly a couple of days ago. He paid a generous tribute to the Chancellor, not only for what he had done for Germany but for Europe and the world, when he said, "This small house is inadequate for such a big man."

Saturday, March 7, 1959

Mild again. At the office this morning.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

All reports agree that the meeting between the Chancellor and de Gaulle was unusually successful. The Chancellor called this morning to ask me to come and see him Monday. I explained I had to be in Heidelberg that day and would be in Berlin Tuesday and Wednesday, so an appointment was arranged for Thursday.

I have just read an article by Lester Pearson on diplomacy, in which he draws attention to the difficulties of conducting negotiations in secret, when a commentator with an audience of millions of readers or listeners tells his public what he thinks has transpired in private. Pearson speaks of a cynical gentleman who was once asked what he thought about a certain question. His reply was: "How do I know what I think until I hear what I said?"

Tonight we had dinner with the Bettelonis. The British, French and Italian Ambassadors were there, as well as a number of German officials. We talked much and settled nothing.

This evening Alfred and Monique Kinsky spent a couple of hours with us, and remained for dinner after we left to go to the Bettelonis. He was a Hungarian, later a Czechoslovakian, and is now living in London. She is a friend of Evangeline, with a Norwegian father and a French mother. He is a brother of Sophie Galen, one of the nicest women I have met in Germany. They are an attractive couple. His father still lives in Czechoslovakia and

UNCLASSIFIED

refuses to leave. His famous schloss and its contents were all taken over by the Communists, and the old gentleman stays with the local village priest, supported by charity. His daughter Sophie is allowed to go to see him from time to time.

Sunday, March 8, 1959

Al Wells and Bill Tyler came out this morning with telegrams, including the suggested U. S. reply to the last Soviet note.

I went to church.

This afternoon Nicky had a birthday party. Like David's a week before, it was riotous. Neither date represented their birthdays, but they found it was more convenient for their friends to make such changes.

Monday, March 9, 1959

Left on the train for Heidelberg this morning at 7:45. It was the last Commanders' Conference to be held by Hank Hodes. I made a speech about the Berlin situation, [redacted] then paid a sincere tribute to General Hodes. I shall miss him, [redacted] He would be a wonderful man to be with in a tight corner. It seems a pity to have the mandatory retirement regulations of the Army operate against a fellow who is still full of vigor and ability at the age of 60.

We got back to Mehlem at 5:37, then I went to the office. E and I left tonight by train for Berlin.

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Tuesday, March 10, 1959

In Berlin we found the weather clear, as it had been in Heidelberg yesterday.

I went to the office and, after talks with Gufler, Burns and Hamlett, met Hamlett and Mr. Drew, the Canadian High Commissioner in London, and Mr. George Grande, First Secretary and Consul attached to the Canadian Mission in Berlin. We talked of what has become almost the sole topic of conversation in these parts, the future of West Berlin.

Gaston Coblentz and Crosby Noyes came to see me this afternoon. They were followed first by Seymour Topping and then by Er[illegible] Leiser and Art Olsen. In all, I exchanged views for three hours with these journalists, and we all ended, I hope, a little wiser.

Wednesday, March 11, 1959

At 9:30 with General Hamlett I called on Mayor Brandt at the Rathaus. Although his trip around the world must have been fatiguing, he was in excellent spirits. The night I left Bonn, I had been telephoned about Khrushchev's invitation to Brandt to meet at the Soviet Embassy in East Berlin. I felt he was absolutely right in declining to do so. I also think that Ollenhauer, who had called on Khrushchev the day before, made a mistake. He was trapped into

DECLASSIFIED

signing a communique which will be used against West Germany as indicating disunity.

After our interview, Brandt and I were photographed by the men from the London and Paris offices of Life who are getting up material for their magazine.

Back in the office I ran into General Rome, the British Commandant who, I am sorry to say, was paying his farewell call.

Kit Steel came to see me, and we had a long talk.

E and I lunched at the Maison de France, and afterwards Mrs. Vreeland, Al Wells and I made a tour of the antique district. There is little good stuff on display, but I bought a charming, somewhat rustic Louis XVI lady's desk in marqueterie.

Back at the office, I reviewed the situation with Guf and others, all of whom are for firm action. They are a satisfactory group.

Again we had a beautiful day, and left tonight for Bonn.

Thursday, March 12, 1959

John Bross came up from Frankfurt this morning, motoring in the rain, and talked to me about various of his activities, John, Henry Pleasants and I lunched together upstairs.

I dealt with many office matters and at five o'clock saw Mr. William P. Steven, Vice President and Executive Editor of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, Graham Hovey, London

DECLASSIFIED

correspondent for the same paper, and Herb Altschull. We devoted an hour to the Berlin problem. I could almost talk about it in my sleep.

Friday, March 13, 1959

A gray day.

Ambassador Grewe came to see me this morning. We are to meet in Paris next Tuesday.

This afternoon I saw Murray Marder, London correspondent of the Washington Post.

I saw the Chancellor at 6:45 and had a long conversation with him. He had [redacted] two exhausting days with Macmillan but looked well. Tonight I drafted notes for a telegram to be sent tomorrow.

Saturday, March 14, 1959

[redacted] foggy in the morning, but the sun came out later.

I sent the following message to Allen Dulles (see pages 186-192). Also, I sent the Department a similar one, eliminating specific references to Foster.

I went to see Kit Steel this morning and he confirmed, from the British side, most of what the Chancellor had told me.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Bill Elliott came to lunch with us. He is staying at Koenigswinter for the meetings between the Anglo-German group who establish themselves there once a year. Since his retirement from the Royal Air Force, he has been with the American Machine and Foundry Company.

We had a dinner for Rebecca Wellington tonight with the following guests: State Secretary and Mrs. Thedieck, Dr. and Mrs. Heinrich Northe, Dr. and Mrs. Hans Christian Halter, Dr. and Mrs. Hans Heilmuth Ruete, Mr. and Mrs. Gilles Curien, Mr. and Mrs. David Klein, Harry and Maria Schwartz, and Al Wells. E had a [redacted] bad cold and could not come to dinner.

Sunday, March 15, 1959

I left at 9:40 this morning for Beckum. Sophie Galen and her nice son Ferdinand met me at the station at 12:45 and we drove out to their schloss. It is a huge and fascinating structure. One part was built in the 14th century, another in 1564 (the date of Shakespeare's birth) and the rest of it a short time thereafter. It was not damaged during the war, or even afterwards, when it was occupied by American artillery officers.

Count Galen's family have lived in Westfalia for many generations and in the old days regularly supplied Munster with a Prince-Bishop. There are five daughters and one son who, with their

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

attractive looking mother and father, seem to have a wonderful life.

I saw two striking portraits there, done last summer by the Italian Tagliaferro who once made a sketch of me in Paris. I thought them unusually decorative.

There were about 20 people for lunch, and afterwards we walked around the park. Instead of having one moat, this schloss has two, and all together there are three drawbridges. The trip home took a little over three hours, and the countryside was lovely in the sunshine.

Monday, March 16, 1959

The Sergeant is very proud of his report on the exercise given the private train in the year 1958. It did over 30,000 miles.

The case against Hallstein and Blankenhorn pursues its course, and I am told the Chancellor has become quite worried over the outcome.

This has been a singularly vexatious day, with all sorts of confusion arising out of conflicting telegrams from Washington, London and Paris about Allied agreement on German problems. Martin Hillenbrand called me on the telephone last night, and I gather he is swamped with difficulties in the working group. I am leaving by train for Paris tonight; E is on her feet again today and is going down

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

by plane this evening, thinking she is less likely to catch more cold in the air than on the railroad cars.

The Lippmanns were due to arrive by helicopter from Brussels, but it met with an [redacted] accident so they are coming on by Sabena. I shall see them at dinner tonight.

Roy Lassetter's wife took their brand new Jaguar for its first drive yesterday and pretty well smashed it to pieces, [redacted]. Luckily she was little hurt.

A group of six Air Force officers with a lawyer came up at lunchtime to tell me how critical was the situation on their airfields where the unions are threatening some sort of general strike.

A large security team has arrived from America and so I had a discussion with them.

At the end of the day, I had the unhappy feeling that I had accomplished nothing, but at least had enjoyed a stimulating three hour conversation with Walter Lippmann. He and I have never been in tune on matters relating to Germany, but he is so sincere and articulate it is even a pleasure to disagree with him.

Tuesday, March 17, 1959

Arrived Paris 7:30 this morning and went to the Crillon to breakfast with E. By 9:30 was at the Embassy with Martin Hillenbrand, Bill Tyler and the rest of our delegation of ten. Vest, who is Deputy

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

to Ray Thurston (now temporarily incapacitated by a heart attack), called with two telegrams Laurie Norstad [redacted] instructed him to show me. They involved the familiar difficulty of meshing military and political planning. At noon I saw Amory Houghton. He has lately returned from a 10,000 mile tour around French possessions, and countries closely associated with France, in Africa. He said it was fascinating. He is now deep in the trouble caused by de Gaulle's announcement he intends to withdraw the French Mediterranean fleet from NATO control. This unilateral decision has aroused a storm in the North Atlantic Council. Neither Amo nor Cecil Lyon, whom I saw later, see much prospect of a settlement of the Algerian problem. The French Army is still insistent upon a free hand, and many of its principal officers continue to side with the colons. General de Gaulle has no immediate program; though his views about Algeria are liberal, there is much doubt whether even he could succeed in imposing them on the Parliament, Army, or the majority of his countrymen.

The U.K., French, German and our own delegation met as a working group this afternoon at the Quai d'Orsay. There are hundreds of pages of papers bearing on the subjects under discussion, some of which have already leaked to the press in various capitals. There was much talk, and the sub-committees will be busy redrafting tonight.

Bill Tyler and I walked back, in the mild spring-like evening,

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

to the Crillon. E and I have a little apartment there on the top floor. Its ample terrace has as one adornment a monumental stone escutcheon by Gabriel, and the view over the Place de la Concorde is incomparable.

Wednesday, March 18, 1959

E and I set out early this morning to see the exhibition of paintings and drawings, ranging from Gericault to Matisse, shown at the Petit Palais. They were all from private Swiss collections. It was a wonderful display. We also wandered through - I for the first time in many years - the rooms housing the Tuck benefactions. Then to the Embassy, for reading and conversation about Working Group matters.

I lunched with Jean Monnet. Monnet, since it is an old pet of his, approves Adenauer's ideas about a chain of Summit conferences, interspersed with Foreign Minister or technical meetings. He feels strongly the inadvisability of making any proposals implying discrimination against the Federal Republic of Germany. He thinks it would be most dangerous to permit any diminution of Germany's full partnership in NATO, or in any of the institutions of the Six. He is definitely opposed to the neutralization of FedRep. He regards European integration as so important it must be preserved at all costs.

Monnet had seen de Gaulle recently. He thinks it not

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

impossible the General might favor a design for European political unity. If so, this must be initiated while Adenauer and de Gaulle are in power. The General was [redacted] interested in Jean's comments on a European Assembly, whose members would be chosen by universal suffrage.

Jean read me his notes on conversations he had in London, the end of February, with Maudling, Amery and Perth on the Free Trade Area and the Common Market. He thinks the British have handled this affair with little skill.

On my way to the Quai d'Orsay, I stopped at Pernet's and bought an exceptionally fine, doubleleafed Louis XVI demi-lune mahogany table, a good match for the one we have at Bad Godesberg, brought from Versailles.

The working group debated texts for several hours, before knocking off for dinner.

We went with Bill Tyler to dinner at a bistro on Boulevard St. Germain - Ratatin et Honorine. Mountains of food, a bit difficult to face if one has been leading a sedentary life. Gay occasion.

After dropping Bill, we moved on to the Ritz, to see Loulou and Nelson Slater, [redacted] just arrived from Egypt. They were well, but Nelson has a blood pressure of 220 over 110 - this is dangerous. He scarcely drinks, never smokes, takes great care of

DECLASSIFIED

his health, and yet, at 65, is menaced by the possibility of a stroke.

Thursday, March 19, 1959

It was rainy this morning. They called from the office at Bonn and referred, incidentally, to the sunny weather there.

To the Embassy, fo reading of telegrams and chit-chat. Meetings were resumed at 10 o'clock at the Quai d'Orsay, with Jean Laloy spokesman for the French Delegation, Martin Hillenbrand the excellent chairman of ours, Pat Hancock (a man of infinite humor) leading the British, and von Baudissin and Grewe sharing the honors for the Germans. Many an I was dotted and T crossed in this complicated exercise before I picked up E and went off for lunch alone with the Houghtons at 2 Avenue d'Iéna. What an admirable couple! No American Ambassador to France has ever had so difficult a task - he has survived five governments and one quasi-revolution with imperturbable calm. He would like to retire within a year, but does not intend to mention it while crises persist, as they probably will indefinitely. We had the usual exquisite lunch; how French chefs keep up their standards, unless, as I think true, because of love and pride in their profession, is beyond my ken.

Back to the Embassy, then to the familiar Foreign Office where almost every huissier is an old friend, and afterwards, about 8 p.m., to the Crillon. The day, except for the pleasant interlude at the

DECLASSIFIED

Houghtons, might have been passed in Washington or New York, save for quick glimpses of Paris's unique beauties.

Friday, March 20, 1959

Neutral day. Mild. Embassy this morning. Then working group meeting at French Foreign Office. E and I lunched with Marina and Cy Sulzberger at 2 Avenue de Ségur, near the Champ de Mars, with its wonderful Gabriel buildings. Marina, as usual, was scintillating. She had lately been to my favorite little museum, the Bardo at Tunis. Cy, the ubiquitous, has de Gaulle [redacted] much on his mind, and wants him to meet, as soon as practicable, with President Eisenhower. Otherwise, he thinks de Gaulle, with his insistence on French "grandeur", will evolve schemes much more ambitious than the withdrawal of the French Mediterranean fleet from NATO control.

I returned to the Embassy, but found a certain torpor had overcome members of our delegation. The French had invited all their foreign associates to a lunch at Lapérouse, still one of the best restaurants in Paris. They [redacted] feasted wisely, lengthily and well, so we only resumed our studies at 4:30.

Saw Joxe for a moment before our session - a superior individual, in character and judgment.

All papers have been concluded, and there only remains a draft reply to the Soviet note to be considered. This, in turn, depends upon

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

further instructions from Washington.

We dined tonight Chez Calvet. Fresh sole at last.

Saturday, March 21, 1959

Today is mild and overcast. To the office in the morning, then to see Randy Burgess and Fritz Nolting at the Talleyrand. Our delegation members are packing up.

E and I lunched at Carton and saw our old friend, the proprietor. Ate some fine, coppery Belon oysters and a sole meunière.

We went over to Rue du Cherche Midi to see an exhibition of paintings by d'Hermit, a friend of Jean Cocteau. Rather in the style of Rousseau. Bought a couple of presents, and at 4 p.m. Louis Joxe and Bill Tyler came to my room for a talk. Joxe was frank and helpful. We canvassed various possibilities for deals with the Soviets.

Tonight, E and I dined with Pauline and Philippe de Rothschild, 8 Avenue d'Iéna. This boundlessly hospitable couple gave us a meal that, for quality, one could scarcely match elsewhere. The wines were magnificent - Montrachet 1919, Mouton Rothschild 1926, Lafite 1895, Climens 1948. The Mouton was slightly tired, the Lafite perfection, the Climens precociously mature. The Montrachet surprised me agreeably by the tenacity of its bouquet. As always, the conversation was a joy.

Read until 2 a.m. a biography of the Margrave of Bayreuth,

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia. What an uncouth monster was her father, and how contemptible her obese, stupid English mother. It is a wonder Frederick II was not even more odd than he proved to be.

Sunday, March 22, 1959

Bill Tyler called from Bonn at 9 this morning. The President and Macmillan have agreed at Camp David on the contents of a note to the Soviets, offering a Foreign Ministers' Conference on May 11, with a not very conditional promise of a Summit meeting to follow. Geoff Lewis came over to show me the telegrams, and it remains to coordinate the Anglo-American position with the Germans and French.

We lunched with Elsie Lyon, and her daughter Lilla. Cecil is spending the week-end with a college friend in the South of France. Elsie is beautiful. Her facial structure is one of those international affairs of bones so well coordinated she might be an aristocrat of any occidental race. Delicious food.

We visited the USIA exhibition on Rue du Dragon, devoted to American writers and their friends in the early twenties. It really is a show of the collections of Sylvia Beach, who ran the Shakespeare book shop on the Left Bank. She was a picturesque figure when I first went to Paris, passionately interested in literature and people and, for then, very avant garde. I admired her and her glamorous Bohemian friends

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

at a distance, but [redacted] was not admitted to the circle. The show included memorabilia of Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein, John los Passos, Archie Macleish, Ernest Hemingway, James Joyce, and many others, including André Malraux. Liliane Jacoel, E's friend, showed us around. She is an archivist and [redacted] knowledgeable.

Afterwards, we spent an hour at the Napoleon III exhibition at the Invalides. I was disappointed - it was a meretricious epoch, and he a disappointing adventurer. I remember, as a child, my mother carrying on a vague correspondence with the Ex-Empress Eugénie with whom she was somehow related through the Kirkpatricks.

The sun came out at sunset, which was a bit absurd, but [redacted] effective. We tried to go to a Brigitte Bardot movie, but the hours did not fit, so we missed this bosomy phenomenon, who is almost as famous in France as General de Gaulle, and has lately been the subject of a serious article in Match by Raymond Cartier, who describes with equal facility celestial and terrestial stars.

This brief stay in Paris has been happy. I never see the city without realizing anew the attraction it exercises, particularly over Germans, who even under Kaiser William II could never reproduce in Berlin an atmosphere in imitation that was other than a pallid lunar reflection of its charms.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Monday, March 23, 1959

Arrived at Mehlem before eight o'clock this morning. There was much to do at the office.

Francis McIntyre, Chief Economist for Caltex, came to lunch with me and we talked about petroleum as well as questions posed by the Common Market and the proposed Free Trade Area.

Rebecca Wellington came to say goodby. She is leaving this afternoon for home and will return in June to take up her position as Consul in Salzburg. We shall greatly miss her here.

The Timberlakes arrived the end of last week and it is fine to have them here.

Seydoux and I, with respective staff members, met Kit Steel at his house this afternoon to discuss Alert Measures with General Sir Richard Gale, General Norstad's Deputy Commander in Chief. It was decided I would bring this matter up with the Chancellor the next time I see him, and it will also be raised with Strauss and others. It concerns emergency powers to be used for the protection of the security of the armed forces of the United States, United Kingdom and France stationed in the Federal Republic. The Allied nations remain responsible for such protection until the Federal Government has obtained from German legislation authority to take effective action to protect the security of these forces.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Such legislation does not yet exist, and the suggestion of its introduction has aroused widespread opposition. If the three Ambassadors were to act in an emergency, their decrees would have little effect unless actively supported by the Federal and local officials.

I went to a stag dinner at the British Embassy tonight in honor of General Gale. Most of the big shots from the Ministry of Defense were there. I had interesting talks, especially with Minister Strauss and General Heusinger. We are making fast progress on our top secret agreements.

The Germans, like ourselves, are gratified over the conclusion of the 3 1/2 year negotiations on Status of Forces. Everyone praises highly John Hay's devotion and skill in connection with this operation.

Tuesday, March 24, 1959

Temperature about 60 degrees.

I went to see the Chancellor at noon and later made the following reports on my talk with him. (Pages 206 - 210.)

Adenauer is unquestionably very perturbed over the so-called freeze proposition. Some of his associates say it has aroused him more than any rumor he has heard since what was termed the "Radford Plan".

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

MEMORANDUM

March 24, 1959

During a conversation today with Chancellor Adenauer, I told him I had been authorized by the British and French Ambassadors to raise with him the question of Emergency Powers and Alert Measures. I said the Ambassadors had conferred together on this many times, that SACEUR, like ourselves, was gravely concerned over the inaction regarding it, and we felt it urgent to resolve the problem quickly.

The Chancellor answered that he was fully aware of the importance of this issue. He will see to it that such laws as can be passed by the Bundestag will be enacted. However, he would be unable to get through those requiring a 2/3 majority. Nevertheless, he thinks there may be a method whereby SACEUR can be given the necessary emergency authority.

I told him one difficulty seemed to be presented by the number of ministries who possessed some interest or competency in regard to this subject, and would it be practicable for the Ambassadors to address themselves to an individual or office who could bring about a degree of coordination.

He replied that since he presided over the Defense Council, the logical place for coordination might be in his own office. It was settled that any future approaches on our part could be made through Dr. Globke.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

I [redacted] read in the paper a few days ago about George Bowdoin's death in New York, and [redacted] sent Mary Bruce a telegram about it. I had a letter from Howard Bruce yesterday saying George had been operated on for lung cancer last November and there had been no hope of his eventual recovery. He was my oldest friend, and I [redacted] knew [redacted] him intimately in school and in the army. He was the Top Sergeant of my battery in 1917 and 1918, and a magnificent one. Once when we had an [redacted] unruly draft of tough young men sent over to join us in France, some of them at first resisted discipline. George soon brought them to book by inviting the ringleader, who had been a professional boxer, to step behind his tent where, watched by about 100 of the soldiers, he proceeded to reduce him nearly to a physical wreck. Everyone in our battery loved and admired him. In spite of his age, when we entered the second World War, he went into the Marine Corps and had a wonderful combat record, winding up as a Lt. Col. in the Pacific.

We went to dinner at the Danish Embassy in Cologne tonight. There was a large company, including the French and British Ambassadors, Minister of the Interior Schröder, Protocol Chief von Braun, Carlo Schmidt and several others, as well as a complement of wives. I had some useful political conversations, and we got back home about midnight.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Wednesday, March 25, 1959

Francois Seydoux came to see me this morning with Gilles Currien to ascertain what, if anything, I knew about the meetings at Camp David and what had happened about my approach to the Chancellor on Alert Measures.

The new Portuguese Ambassador Laborinho made his first call on me, and I enjoyed seeing him.

My 220 Mercedes-Benz car was delivered yesterday. It is gray with red leather upholstery. Al Wells arranged the transaction, and I seem to be paying for it in full by turning over to the company my Studebaker Golden Hawk.

Colonel Freund, Civil Affairs officer at Heidelberg, came to see me with Dennie Flinn. He says their contacts with the Soviets have been much more frequent in the last few weeks, and the Soviet officers have gone out of their way to entertain and be sociable with their American counterparts. Meanwhile, the famous notes to the Soviets are being coordinated in the NATO Council in Paris and should be delivered this week.

I went to see Kit Steel early this afternoon. He saw the Chancellor this morning, and we interchanged information about our respective meetings.

A letter arrived from Chris Herter today for delivery to the

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED

Chancellor, summarizing what took place at Camp David. I fear it will do little to allay his suspicions about the "freeze".

At four o'clock I met with some of our newspaper correspondents, Mrs. Sydney Gruson (N. Y. Times), Gaston Coblentz (New York Herald Tribune), Ernest Leiser (CBS), John Mecklin (Time-Life), Peter Webb (Newsweek) and Wellington Long (UP). They had all asked to see me individually, but we agreed time limitations were such it would be better to have a joint meeting.

I had written to Bob Murphy telling him how important I thought it was to have General Hamlett continue, at least for a time, in Berlin after his normal tour of duty will have expired in June, and suggesting, if an occasion presented itself, he speak of this to General Maxwell Taylor. Bob replied he had done so and it looks as if Hamlett will remain there more or less for the period of emergency.

Thursday, March 26, 1959

Ambassador Quaroni came to see me this morning. He told me what had taken place at the meetings between the Chancellor and the Italian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. Then he launched into a disquisition on the Italian Government's desire to be represented in the formulation of policies such as those regarding Berlin. This is an old story and has been brought up frequently in statements to our Government in Washington. I told him I would speak about it when I am there next week.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Tonight I gave a wine dinner for the Pleasants and Tylers, and had the following menu:

Mushroom Volau Vent
Roast Turkey
Cheese
Chocolate Mousse

- - - - - -

Veuve Clicquot 1937
Ch. Smith Lafite 1928
Ch. Pichon Lalande 1921
Ch. Latour 1916
Ch. Cheval Blanc 1929
Josefhofer Spätlese 1949
Fine Champagne 1900

Fortunately, all the wines were in fine condition. I preferred the Smith Lafite, Henry Pleasants the Pichon Lalande and Bill Tyler the Cheval Blanc. It is really a wonderful way to pass an evening.

Saturday, March 28, 1959

A beautiful day like yesterday, with intermittent and [redacted] light showers.

General Everest called me at the office and said the matter of protesting Soviet action against the C-130 had, by determination of General Norstad, been referred to us as a political question. His orders from Washington were to continue the program next week with three more flights. I asked him if he could postpone the first one, scheduled for Monday, until Tuesday, so that I could take the matter up with Defense and State on Monday in Washington. He agreed to this. I think he shares my feeling this is an injudicious decision as

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

regards timing. Later, General Palmer called me from Paris to say General Norstad had told him to confirm what Everest had said to me.

I had called Hank Hodes yesterday to tell him goodby, and followed it up today with the following telegram (see page 218).

E and the children accompanied me to Duesseldorf this evening, where I took the 9:30 Lufthansa flight to Washington.

CLASSIFICATION

Form AID/C-U
(AUG 57)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY BONN

CHARGE TO

5 VEC VEC

AMB

218

UNCLASSIFIED
CLASSIFICATION

852
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

22 March 1959
DATE

SENT TO: USAREUR HEIDELBERG ROUTINE 519

PERSONAL FOR GENERAL HODES FROM BRUCE

It is with deepest regret Evangeline and I view the approaching departure of Laura and yourself from Germany. We had looked forward to attending the ceremonies in your honor on March 31, but this has proved impossible since I am leaving today for Washington.

I want you to know how greatly I have appreciated your unfailing consideration in dealing in your official connection with matters of joint interest to our respective departments of government, and the brilliant qualities of leadership you have displayed in carrying out your mission. But even more, I am grateful for your constant personal friendship which I shall always highly value.

Evangeline joins me in affectionate regards to Laura and yourself.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

DISTRIBUTION

AMB only

852

AMB:DBruce/mkr 3/11
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No's.

UNCLASSIFIED
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY
Corrections made on this original must be made on all copies before delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Declassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE - 662
(Nov. 56)

DECLASSIFIED

Sunday, March 29, 1959

Arrived Idlewild about 6 a.m., after a perfectly smooth flight. Caught an 8 a.m. plane to Washington, went to the Georgetown house, found Miss Schu well, and everything spic and span.

Allen Dulles came to see me this morning. He told me for my private information that Foster was suffering acute pain in his chest, shoulders, and indeed quite generally. Foster is leaving for Florida tomorrow morning, and will not attend the NATO meeting. It is [redacted] sad - Allen is not optimistic.

I lunched across the street with Lutie and Pinky Thompson and their boys, and tonight had an enchanting evening with Kay and Phil Graham.

It has been clear today, the temperature this morning about 32° F.

Monday, March 30, 1959

At 9 a.m. was at Department. Conferred successively with Hillenbrand, Timmons and Merchant. Spent forty minutes with Chris Herter. He looks fit and vigorous, in spite of his aches and pains.

Hillenbrand, Findley Burns and I lunched in the cafeteria. Spent all afternoon at a large briefing session, presided over by Herter, to consider papers preparedfor tomorrow's tripartite and quadripartite Foreign Ministers' meetings.

Rainy and mild today. Dined tonight with Ethel Fowler.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Tuesday, March 31, 1959

Arrived at office at 8:45 and poked my nose into several alcoves.

Lunched in the Secretary's dining-room with Chris Herter, Livie Merchant, Bob Murphy, von Brentano, Grewe and van Scherpenberg. Brentano gave tongue on questions regarding which the Chancellor had expressed concern.

I saw President Eisenhower this afternoon and spent three-quarters of an hour with him. He looked [redacted] well, and seemed completely relaxed. His skin was pink and unwrinkled, his eyes sparkled, and altogether he exuded charm and confidence.

He said the substantive duties of his office were obviously of a nature requiring grave decisions. But even more of his time was occupied by visits of groups of people, demanding, sometimes because of curiosity, but more frequently for reasons of organizational or personal prestige, to see him, or be seen with him. He had tried to reduce these occasions to a minimum, but without real success.

We talked quite lengthily about Berlin, and he affirmed his belief that the determination to use our nuclear power, if necessary, to maintain our position there, was the best way to influence the Soviets to be reasonable. He asked whether Adenauer showed any signs of senility. I answered that I had detected none.

differences of view over the wisdom, or the contrary, of tabling an Allied draft peace treaty at the May 11 conference.

Wonderful evening at Kay Halle's with Alice and Dean Acheson. Dean's moustache is more authoritative than ever, now gray and shaped like a walrus tooth. With gusto he impaled a few political enemies on his barbs. However, his bitterness is disturbing, and by some he is being criticized as being a common scold. Dear Susan's cooking was, as usual, of chef standard.

Randy Burgess came out with me for a drink before dinner. Nice man, surprisingly young looking - he will soon be seventy.